OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH

BY

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Zondon

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LONDON: PRINTED BY

CPOTTISWOODE AND CO., LEW-STREET SCHABE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

PREFACE.

England assuredly is at last waking up to the importance of studying her old tongue in all its stages. I.cannot otherwise account for the rapid sale of my late book on 'Standard English;' nearly 2,000 copies of this have gone off within four years or so.

•In the present work I have embodied whatever of the former book was worth preserving: great additions have been made, since I take notice of about 3,000 English words and phrases. I have had much help from criticism, both in print and by letter. I cannot understand why an author need whimper under the rod of Reviewers. If the criticism be sound, he should be thankful for a chance of improving his book. If the criticism be absurd, he may amuse his readers by inserting it in the notes to his next edition. I have freely availed

myself of this privilege; no harm is done, if all names be suppressed.¹

I owe much to certain late writers on Philology: I have always had before me Mätzner's English Grammar, which allows hardly one idiom of ours to escape observation: I have sometimes been able to point out an earlier date for new English phrases than is suggested in the German's noble volumes. I have paid much attention to the colossal works, which will make the names of Cleasby and Littré immortal. I have studied our ancient pronunciation under the guidance of Mr. Ellis; it is most important to remark the old sounds of au and oi in France and England. Dr. Stratmann and Dr. Morris have proved themselves once more the best of leaders. Any one who reads my chapter on French will see the influence that Mr. Freeman ('Norman Conquest,' Vol. V.) has had upon me: He is good enough to say that my former work was of some use to him when he wrote his chapter on

One would-be philologer wrote to correct my false ideas, telling me that English was derived from Anglo-Saxon, and Anglo-Saxon from Gothic: I forget if he went on to derive Gothic from Sanserit. This was in the year of grace 1874!

the English language: I am sure that I have repaid myself with usury.

I hold to the venerable saw, 'Old school, good school;' and I have little love for what is called in the cant of our day, 'Neoteristic Individualism.' I let off no fireworks like 'Asyndetic Co-ordination,' or 'Sequacious Diathesis.' I should be heartily ashamed of myself if I thought I had used any word that a twelve-year-old English schoolboy, a reader of, Cæsar and Ovid, could not easily understand. Philology is too noble a goddess to be pent up in a narrow shrine, begirt by a small circle of worshippers, who use a Græco-Latin dialect. She should go forth into the highways and hedges, and should speak to man, woman, and child, in a tongue that all can comprehend.

I take my stand half-way between the Purist and the Advocate of new-fangled vulgarity. I like to mark the date of my book, by pointing out the last sweet thing in Penny-a-lining. We have lately heard of the fall of Adrianople; the English correspondents abroad delight in phrases like 'the debandade was averted by a parlementaire;' writers

at home speak of the generals as 'the directing personnel of the army!' What would Sir William Napier, twenty years ago, have said to this flew jargon?

I advise my readers to mark my list of errata, at the end of the Contents, before studying my book. Any suggestions or corrections may be forwarded to me at

Charlton House, Wimbledon.

I hope to bring out my work on the New English three or four years hence.

Rome:

February, 1878.

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	Errata.
	Page 44, line 5; for Bæthus read Boethus. "105, "14; for Sunnadæg read Sunnandæg. "130, "19; for suchealte read sæ healfe. "165, "17; for the Alfred's read Alfred's gh. "194, "3; strike out the sentence beginning with So. "250, "3; strike out for the first time. "315, "1; for 138 read 303. "337, "5; for one read once. "374, "13; for sel wasse read selv asse. "442, "12; for Past read Passive. "535, Notes, last line but one; transfer of from the end to the beginning of this line.

OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH.

CHAPTER L

ENGLISH IN ITS EARLIEST SHAPE.1

THERE are many places, scattered over the world, that are hallowed ground in the eyes of Englishmen; but the most sacred of all would be the spot (could we only know it) where our forefathers dwelt in common with the ancestors of the Hindoos, Persians, Greeks, Latins, Slavonians, and Celts—a spot not far from the Oxus. By the unmistakable witness of language we can frame for ourselves a pedigree more truthful than any heraldic tree boasted by Veres or Montmorencies, by Guzmans or Colonnas. Thanks to the same evidence, we can gain some insight into the daily life of the great Aryan family, whence spring all the above-named nations.

The word 'Arya' seems to come from a time-honoured term for ploughing, traces of which term are found in the Latin arare and the English ear. Some have thought that Iran in the East and Erin in the West alike take

¹ Gibbon begins his famous chapter on Mohammed by confessing his ignorance of Arabic; even so, I must acknowledge that all my Sanscrit comes from Dr. Morris and Mr. Muir.

their names from the old Aryans, the 'ploughing' folk, men more civilised than the roving Tartar hordes around them.

These tillers of the ground 'knew the arts of plough. ing, of making roads, of building ships, of weaving and sewing, of erecting houses; they had counted at least as far as one hundred. They had domesticated the most important animals, the cow, the horse, the sheep, the dog; they were acquainted with the most useful metals. and armed with hatchets, whether for peaceful or warlike purposes. They had recognised the bonds of blood and the laws of marriage; they followed their leaders and kings: and the distinction between right and wrong was fixed by customs and laws.' As to their God. traces of him are found in the Sanscrit Dyaus, in the Latin Dies-piter, in the Greek Zeus, in the English Tiw; from this last comes our Tuesday. Moreover, the Aryans had a settled framework of grammar: theirs was that Mother Speech, whence nearly all the men dwelling between the Shannon and the Ganges inherit the words used in daily life.2

The Sanscrit and the English are two out of the many channels that have brought the water from the old Aryan well-head down to our days. The Sanscrit language, having been set down in writing two thousand years before the earliest English, shows us far more of the great Mother Speech than our own fongue does. I now print a hundred and thirty words or so, the oldest

Max Müller, Science of Language, I. 273.

² The Turks and Magyars are the chief exceptions to the rule.

used by us, which vary but slightly in their Eastern and Western shapes. How the one-syllabled roots first arose, no man can say.

Sanscrit.	English (Old and New).	Sanscrit.	English (Old and New).
pitar	father	târa	star
mâtar	mother	ajra (field)	acre
bhrâtar	brother	dru	tree
svasar	sister	madhu	meodu, mead
sûnu	son	dama (house)	tim-ber
duhitar	daughter	dvår	door
vidhavâ	widow	aritra	âr, oar
jani (woman)	cwên, quean	kalama	haulm
râjan	rica (king)	yuvan	young man
hridaya	heart	laghu	light
kapala	heafod, head	laghishta	lightest
akshi	eage, eye	mahân (great)	mycel, much
nâsâ	nose	mahîyân	mâr, more
bhru	brow	mamhishtha	mæst, most
dat, dantam	(tontha) tooth	mridu (soft)	mild
hănu	cine, chin	tanu	thin
nakha"	nægel, nail	rudhira	red
pâda	foot	gharma	warm
jânu	cneo, knee	pûr <u>n</u> a	full
nâbhi	navel	sama(like)	same
ûdhas	udder	sthira (firm)	stern
yuga	yoke	nava	new
go (ox)	cû, cow	madhya	middle
ukshan	OX	svâdu	sweet
sthûra (bull)	steer	kás (to cough)	
avi	ewe	satya	sooth, true
sûkara (hog)	sugu, sow	patatri	feathered
vrika	wolf	(winged)	
mûsha	műs, mouse	dvi	two
hamsa (goose)		dvis	twice
makshikâ	midge	trayas	three
divâ	by day	tritîyas	third
naktam	by night	tris	thrice
mâsa	mouth [chatvâras	fether, four

			1
Sanscrit.	English (Old and New).	Sanscrit.	English (Old and New).
panchan	(finf) five	prî (love)	fri-end
shashthas	sixth	smi	smile
saptan	(seoftan) seven	mikshâmi	I mix
navan	nine	bhid (cleave)	bite
dasan	(tehun) ten	lu	loose
prathamas	forma, first	snu (flow)	snivel
āhām	Ih, I	trish	thirst
văyăm	we	vaksh	wax
tvăm	thu, thou	sîdâmi	I sit
yûyam	уe	sadas	seat
kas	(hwâs) hwâ,	dam	tame
	who	plu	flow
kad	huæt, what	man (think)	to mind
kataras	whether	manas	mind
kûtra	whither	vam	wamble
tatra	thither	svid	to sweat
ubha	both	svêda.	sweat
bhû	be	vart (turn)	weorpan 1
asti	is	hval (shake)	hweol, wheel
dhâ (place)	do	mri	murder
dar	tear	vid	to wit
sthâ	stand	vap	weave
star	strew	siv	sew
bhar	bear	(bhranj) bhanj	break
lih	lick	(bhruj) bhuj	brook
jan (<i>beget</i>)	cennan, kindle	jîv	quicken
janus	kin	mâ	mete
janaka (father)	cyning, king	bandh	bind
jnâ	know	bhrâj (<i>shine</i>)	bright
nâman	name	sthag	thatch
ad	eat	skhad	shed
vah (carry)	weigh (anchor)	pû (be putrid)	fûl, foul
vâ (blow)	wind	stigh (mount)	stîg-râp, stirrup
bhuj	bûgan, bow	an	in
dhû (blow)	dust	apa	off
dhrish	dare	abhi	by

¹ As in wee worth the day!

Sanscrit. upari upa ud tiras (across)	English (Old and New). over ufa, above ût, out through	Sanscrit. pra na nûnan	English (Old and New). fore ne, no nû, now 1
tiras (across)	through		

The greatest of all mistakes is, to think that English is derived from Sanscrit. The absurdity of this notion may be perceived from the fact, that the most untaught English ploughboy of our time in many respects comes nearer to the old Mother Speech than the most learned Brahmin did, who wrote three thousand years ago.

Unhappily, we English have been busy, for the last four thousand years, clipping and paring down our inflections, until very few of them are left to us. Of all Europeans, we have been the greatest sinners in this way. Well said the sage of old, that words are like regiments: they are apt to lose a few stragglers on a long march. Still, we can trace a few inflections, that are common to us and to our kinsmen who compiled the Vedas.

In Substantives, we have the Genitive Singular and the Nominative Plural left. It will be seen that English, in respect of the latter case, comes nearer to the Mother Speech than German does.

Sanscrit. Nom. Sing. Vrika-s Gen. Sing. Vrika-sya Nom. Plur. Vrikâ-s	Old English. Wulf Wulfes Wulfûs	New English. Wolf Wolf's Wolves
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¹ The English bishop and the French evêque, two very modern forms of the same word, are much wider apart from each other than the hoary words in the long list given above.

I give a few Suffixes, common to Sanscrit and English forms of the same root:—

Ma; as from the root $jn\hat{a}$, know, we get the Sanscrit $n\hat{a}man$ and the English nama, name.

Ra; as from the root aj, go, we get the Sanscrit ajra and the English acre.

Nu; as from the root sn, bear, we get the Sanscrit sunu and the English sunu, son.

Der; as from the root pu, feed, we get the Sanscrit pi-tur and the English fe-der, father.

U; as the Sanscrit madhu (honey) is the English meodu (mead). Compare our scúdu (shadow), seonu (sinew).

Our word silvern must once have been pronounced as silfre-nas, (the Gothic silubr-ei-n-s), having the suffix na in common with the Sanscrit phal-i-na-s.

We may wonder why viven is the feminine of fox, carline of carle. Turning to our Sanscrit and Latin cousins, we find that their words for queen are raj-ni and reg-ina, coming from the root raj. Still, in these last, the n is possessive; the vowel at the end is the mark of the feminine.

What is the meaning of ward in such a word as heaven-ward? I answer, to turn is vart in Sanscrit, vertere in Latin.

There is no ending that seems to us, more thoroughly Teutonic than the *like* in such words as workmanlike. But this is seen under a slightly differing shape in the Sanscrit ta-drksha, in the Greek te-lik-os, and the Latin ta-lis. These words answer to our old pylic, which survives as thick or thuck in the mouths of Somersetshire

peasants. So in Old English we find $sw\hat{y}$ -lic corrupted by us first into swylc, and then into such.

Our privative un is seen in the Sanscrit an, as an-anta-s, un-end-ing.

The Sanscrit ka-s, $k\hat{u}$, ka-t appears in Latin as quis, qua, quid, and in English as $hw\hat{a}$, $hw\hat{a}$, $hw\hat{a}$ (who, what).

The Numerals, up to a hundred, are much the same in Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, and English.

In the Comparison of our Adjectives, we have much in common with Sanscrit. There was a Comparative suffix *iyams*, a Superlative *ishtha*.

	Sanscrit.	Engl i sh.
Theme	Mah (great)	Mic-el, much
Compar.	mah-î-jas	mâ-r-a, more
Superl.	mah-ishtha	me-st, $most$

So svâdu (sweet) becomes svâdîya, svâdishtha, (sweeter, sweetest).

The old Comparatives were formed in ra, tara, the Superlatives in ma, tama. We have, as relics of the Comparative, other, whether, after; also, over, under.

Of the old Superlatives we have but one left:

Positive.	Comparative.	Superlative.	
foreweard	fyrra	for-ma	

But this forma we have degraded into a Comparative, and now call it former. It is, in truth, akin to the Sanscrit pra-tha-ma and the Latin pri-mus. Long before the Norman Conquest, we corrupted our old Aryan Superlatives in ma into mest, thinking that they must have some connection with mast, most. Thus we find

both ûtema and ûtmest, utmost. Our word aftermost, if written at full length, would be af-ta-ra-ma-yans-ta, a heaping up of signs to express Comparison.

In our Pronouns, we had a Dual as well as a Singular and Plural; it lasted down to the year 1280.

In our Adverbs, we find traces of the Sanscrit s, with which the old Genitive was formed. Hence comes such a form as 'he must needs go,' which carries us back, far beyond the age of written English, to the Sanscrit adverb formed from the Genitive. Even in the earliest English, the Genitive of néd was néde, and nothing more. In later times we say, 'of a truth, of course,' &c., which are imitations of the old Adverbial Genitive.

We have not many inflections left in the English Verb. The old form in mi, once common to English, Sanscrit, and other dialects, has long dropped; our word am (in Sanscrit asmi) is now its only representative. It is thought that the old Present ran as shown in the following specimen:—

Root nam, take:1

•		
1. nama-mi		. 1st Per. ma, me.
2. nama-si		. 2nd Per. ta, thou.
3. nama-ti		. 3rd Per. ta, this, he.
4. nama-masi		. 1st Per. ma + ta, $I + thou$.
nama-tasi		. 2nd Per. $ta + ta$, thou + thou.
6. nama-nti		. $3rd Per. an + ta, he + he.$

The Perfect of this verb must have been na-nam-ma, in its second syllable lengthening the first vowel of the Present; in other words, forming what is called in English a Strong Verb. Sîd-âmi in Sanscrit has sa-sâd-a

¹ Hence comes 'to numb' and 'Corporal Nym.'

for its Perfect, words of which we have clipped forms in I sit and I sat. I hight (once hchât), from hâtan, and I did (once dide), are the only English Perfects that have kept any trace of their reduplication, and the former is our one relic of the Passive voice. The Imperative in Sanscrit was, in the Singular, nama, in the Plural, namata, answering to the Old English nim and nimath. One verbal noun, used as an Infinitive in the Dative case, was nam-ana (the Greek nem-enai), which we had pared down into nim-an more than a thousand years ago. The Active Participle was nama-nt, which runs through most of the daughters of the Arvan Tongue, and which kept its ground in the Scotch Lowlands until of late years, as 'ridand' instead of our corrupt word 'riding.' The Sanscrit and English alike have both Strong and Weak Passive Participles; the former ending in na, the latter in ta, as stir-na, strew-n.1

Sanscrit, yuk-ta
Greek, zeuk-tos
Latin, junc-tus
English, yok-ed (in Lowland Scotch, yok-it).

Those who choose to write *I was stopt* instead of *stopped*, may justify their spelling by a reference to the first three forms given above. But this form, though admissible in the Passive Participle, is clearly wrong in the Active Perfect, I *stopped*, as we shall see further on.²

In the Aryan Speech there were a few Verbs which

¹ Few Sanscrit verbs have this form, so common in English.

² Archdeacon Hare always spelt *preached* as *preacht*. Still, it is the English *th*, not *t*, that should answer to the Sanscrit *t*.

had lost their Presents, and which used their old Perfects as Presents, forming for themselves new Weak Perfects. I give a specimen of one of these old Perfects, found both in Sanscrit and English.

Sanscrit.	Old English.	New English.
véd-a	wât	I wot
vêt-tha	wás-t	Thou wottest
réd-a	wât	He wots
vid-ma	wit-o-n	We wot
vid-a	wit-o-n	Ye wot
vid-us	wit-o-n	They wot

It is easy to see that, thousands of years before Christ's birth, our forefathers must have used a Present tense, like wit or vid. Our verbs, may, can, shall, will, must, dare (most of which we use, with their new Perfects, as auxiliary verbs), have been formed like wot, and are Irregulars.

Our verb to be is most irregular, since its tenses come from three roots, as, bhu, and vas. One of the points, in which English goes nearer than Sanscrit to the Mother Speech, is the first letter of the Third Person Plural of this verb. We still say are, the old ar-anti or as-anti; in Sanscrit this word appears only as s-anti. The Germans have no form of our am, the Sanscrit asmi.

The old word, which in Sanscrit is $da-dh\hat{a}-mi$, with its Perfect, $da-dh\hat{a}u$, was brought to the Northumbrian shores by our Pagan forefathers in the shape of $ge-d\hat{o}-m$, di-de. Hence our irregular do, did, the latter of which plays a great part in building Weak Teutonic verbs.

With our verb ga (go), we may compare the Sanscrit ji- $g\hat{a}$ -mi; its Perfect is derived from another verb;

we now say went, instead of the old eôde, which Spenser used; this came from a root i. The Lowland Scotch have a corrupt Perfect, gaed, which has been long in use.

Some of the compounds of our English verbs carry us far back. Thus, to explain the meaning of the first syllable in such words as forlorn, fordone, we must look to the Sanscrit parâ.

The Aryan settlement on the banks of the Oxus was in the end broken up. First, the Celt marched towards the setting sun, to hold the Western lands of Europe, and to root out the old Turanian owners of the ground; of these last, the Basques and Lapps alone remain in being. Hundreds of years later the English, with other tribes (they had not yet learnt to count up to a thousand), followed in the Celt's wake, leaving behind them those of their kinsmen who were afterwards to conquer India and Persia, to compile the Vedas, and to leave their handwriting on the rock of Behistûn. Some streams flowed to the West of the great watershed, others to the East.

Many tokens show that the English must have long lived in common with the forefathers of Homer and Nævius. The ending of the Greek word paid-ion is the counterpart of that of the English maid-en; paid-isk-os of cild-isc, childish.² Latin is still nearer akin to us, and sometimes hardly a letter is changed; as when we compare alias and else. Dom-unculus appears in Old English as hus-incle. The Latin fer and the Old English bære,

¹ The old Persian word yâre is the English year.

² Sophocles' high-sounding πωλοδαμνείν would be our to foal-tame, if we chose to compound a word closely akin to Greek.

in truth the same word, are attached to substantives, which are thus changed into adjectives. Vig-il and the Old English wac-ol (wakeful) are but different forms of one word: and wittol still remains. The Latin malva is our mallow; and the likeness was still more striking before we corrupted the old ending u into ow. Aiei and cevum are the Gothic diw, the English age and ever. Latin and English alike slipped the letter n into the middle of a verb before q, as frango or frag, and gang or gag. The Latin Future tense cannot be explained by Latin words alone; but, on turning to English, we at once see that doma-bo is nothing but our tame-be; that is, I be to tame, or I shall tame. So likewise with ara-bo, or I ear be.1 English sometimes shows itself more primitive than Latin; thus, our knot has never lost its first letter, while *quodus* was shortened into *nodus* thousands of years ago. It is the same with know and anosco.

But all the Teutonic tribes have traces left of their nearness of kin to the Slavonians and Lithuanians, who seem to have been the last of the Aryan stock from whom we Teutons separated. We have seen that, when living in Asia, we were unable to count up to a thousand. The Sanscrit for this numeral is sahasra, the Latin mille. The Slavonians made it tusantja, the Lithuanians tulistanti, and with this the whole Teutonic kindred closely agrees. Further, it seems strange at first sight that we have not framed those two of our numerals that follow ten in some such shape as ân-tijne

¹ The verb ear is happily preserved in Shakespeare, and in the English Bible. It is one of the first words that ought to be revived by our best writers, who should remember their Ar-yan blood.

and $tw\hat{a}$ - $t\hat{y}ne$, since we go on to $pre\hat{o}$ - $t\hat{y}ne$, thirteen. The explanation is, that the Lithuanian lika answers to the Teutonic tihan, ten; the ka at the end of the former word changes to fa; just as the Primitive Aryan katvar changes to the Gothic fidwor (our four), and the Latin cado to our fall. If lifan then take the place of the common Teutonic tihan, an-lifan and twa-lifan (eleven and twelve) are easily framed. These Eastern kinsmen of ours had also, like ourselves and unlike the rest of the Aryan stock, both a Definite and an Indefinite form of the Adjective.

But the time came when our fathers left off hunting the auroch in the forests to the East of the Vistula, bade farewell to their Lithuanian cousins (one of the most interesting of all the branches of the Aryan tree), and marched Westward, as the Celts had done long before. Up to this time, we may fairly guess, we had kept our verbs in mi. It cannot be known when the great Teutonic race was split up into High Germans, Low Germans, and Scandinavians. Hard is it to explain why each of them stuck to peculiar old forms; why the High Germans should have kept the Present Plural of their Verb (a point in which Old English fails woefully), almost as it is in Sanscrit and Latin; why the Low Germans (this term includes the Goths and English) should in general have clung closer to the old inflections than their brethren did, and should have refused to corrupt the letter t into s; why the Scandinavians should have

¹ Compare the Sanscrit svêda, English sweat, High German schweiss. English is at once seen to be far more primitive than German.

retained to this day a Passive Voice. I can here do no less than give a substantive and a verb, to show how our brethren (I may now at last drop the word cousins), formed their inflections.

THE SUBSTANTIVE Wolf.

		·	
Old Engl	ish. Gothic.	Old High German.	Old Norse.
	SI	NGULAR.	
Nom. wul Gen. wul Dat. wul Acc. wul	fes wulfis fe wulfa	wulf wulfes wulfa wulf	ulfr ulfs ulfi ulf
	P	LURAL.	
Nom. wul Gen. wul Dat. wul Acc. wul	fa wulfe fum wulfam		ulfar ulfa ulfum ulfa

PRESENT TENSE OF THE VERB niman, to take; whence comes our numb.

Old English.	Gothic.	Old High German.	Old Norse.
Ic nime	nima	nimu	nem
þu nimest	$_{ m nimis}$	nimis	nemr
he nimeð	nimiþ	\mathbf{nimit}	nemr
we nimað	nimam	nemames	nemum
ge nimað	nimiþ	nemat 🕌	$\mathbf{nemi} \mathfrak{d}$
hi nimað	nimand	nemant	nema

All these Teutonic tribes must have easily understood each other, about the time of Christ's birth; since, hundreds of years after that event, they were using the

above-cited inflections. They had by this time wandered far from the old Aryan framework of speech. Thus, to take one instance—the Dative Plural in um: the Sanscrit Nominative sunu formed its Dative Plural in sunu-bhjas (compare the Latin ped-ibus), our English word by entering into the third syllable. Sunubhjas was in time pared down in Teutonic mouths to sunub, and this again to sunum. This last corruption of the dative kept its ground in our island until Becket's time. The tendency of old, when we dwelt on the Oxus, and long afterwards, was to pack different words into one; our custom, ever since the days of Henry I., has been to untie the words so packed together; thus sunubhias has been turned into by sons.2 We have two of these old Datives still left, hwîl-um, whilom, and seld-um, seldom.

We keep to this day many prefixes to verbs (a, be, for, fore, gain, mis, un, with), and many endings of substantives and adjectives, common to us and to our brethren on the mainland; seen in such English words as leechcraft, man-kind, king-dom, maiden-head, sister-hood, wedlock, gar-lick, glee-man, piece-meal, runn-el, kind-red, bishop-rick, friend-ship, land-scape, horn-et, dar-ling,

Pedibus is but the Latin form of the Sanscrit padbhvas.

² I hope I have been plainer than Miss Cornelia Blimber, who told her small pupil that Analysis is 'the resolution of an object, whether of the senses or of the intellect, into its first elements—as opposed to Synthesis, you observe. Now you know what Analysis is, Dombey.' It is remarked that Dombey didn't seem to be absolutely blinded by the light thus let in upon his intellect. Many of our grammars and school-books, meant for children, have formed their diction upon Miss Blimber's phrases.

sing-er, spin-ster, warn-ing, good-ness, stead-fast, manifold, stân-ig (stony), aw-ful, god-less, win-some, right-wis (righteous). Others, older still, such as silv-ern, vix-en, workman-like, child-ish, witt-ol, mall-ow, I have given before. Many old Teutonic endings have unhappily dropped out of our speech, and have been replaced by meaner ware.

The Teutons, after turning their backs on the rest of their Aryan kin, compounded for themselves a new Perfect of the verb, known as the Weak form. The older Strong Perfect is formed by changing the vowel of the Present, as I sit, I sat, common to English and Sanscrit. But the new Perfect of the Teutons is formed by adding di-de (in Sanscrit, da-dhâu) to the stem. Thus, sealf-ie, I salve, becomes in the Perfect, sealfo-de, the de being contracted from dide. When we say, I loved, it is like saying, I love did. This comes out much plainer in our Gothic sister.

Another peculiarity of the Teutons was the use of the dark Runes, still found engraven on stone, both in our island and on the mainland: these were in later times proscribed by Christianity as the handmaids of witchcraft.

The Celts were roughly driven out of their old abodes, on the banks of the Upper Danube and elsewhere, by the intruding Teutons. The former were far the more civilised of the two races: they have left in their word hall an abiding trace of their settlement in Bavaria, and of their management of salt works. The simple word

¹ The Latins set Prepositions before dhû and dadhûu, and thus formed abdo, abdidi; condo, condidi; perdo, perdidi. This last is nothing but the English I for-do (ruin), I for-did.

leather is thought by good judges to have been borrowed from the Celts by their Eastern neighbours.¹

Others suffered besides the Celts. A hundred years before Christ's birth, the Teutons forced their way into Italy, but were overthrown by her rugged champion Marius. Rather later, they matched themselves against Cæsar in Gaul, and felt the heavy hand of Drusus. The two races, the Latin and the Teutonic, (neither of them dreamed that they were both sprung from a common Mother), were now brought fairly face to face. forefathers, let us hope, bore their share in the great fight, when the German hero smote Varus and his legions; we English should think less of Caractacus and Boadicea, more of Arminius and Velleda. Hitherto we have puzzled out our history from the words used by ourselves and our kin, without help from annalists; now at length the clouds roll away, and Tacitus shows us the Angli. sheltered by their forests and rivers, the men who worshipped Mother Earth, in her own sea-girt island, not far from the Elbe. Little did the great historian guess of the future that lay before the barbarians, whom he held up to his worthless countrymen with so skilful a pen. Some of these Teutonic tribes were to take the place of Rome and become the lords of her Empire, to bear her Eagle and boast her titles; others of them, later in the world's history, were to rule more millions of subjects than Rome could ever claim, and were to found new empires on shores to her unknown. She had indeed done great things in law and literature; but her Senate might well have learned a lesson of public spirit from

¹ Garnett's Essays, pp. 150, 167.

the assemblies held by these barbarians, assemblies to which we can trace a likeness in the later councils held in Wessex, Friesland, Uri, Norway. Rome's most renowned poets were to be outdone by Teuton Makers, men who would soar aloft upon bolder wing into the Unseen and the Unknown, and who would paint the passions of mankind in more lifelike hues than any Latin writer ever essayed.

But among the many good qualities of ourselves and our kinsmen, tender care for conquered foes has seldom been reckoned; Western Celt and Eastern Slavonian know this full well. Hard times were at hand; the old worn-out Empire of Rome was to receive fresh life-blood from the healthy Teutons. In the Fifth Century, our brethren overran Spain, Gaul, and Italy; becoming lords of the soil, and overlaying with their own words the old Latin dialects spoken in those provinces. To this time belongs the Beowulf, which is to us English (may I not say, to all Teutons?) what the Iliad was to the Greeks. The old Epic, written on the mainland, sets before us the doughty deeds of an Englishman, before his tribe had come to Britain. There is an unmistakable Pagan ring about the poem; and a Christian transcriber, hundreds of years afterwards, has sought to soften down this spirit, which runs through the recital of the feats of Ecgtheow's bairn.

In the same age as the Beowulf were written the Battle of Finsborough and the Traveller's Song. In the latter, Attila, Hermanric, and the wealthy Cæsar are all mentioned. Pity it is that we have not these lays in their oldest form, in the English spoken not long after the first great Teutonic writer had given the Scriptures to his Gothic countrymen in their own tongue.

The island of Britain was now no longer to be left in the hands of degenerate Celts; happier than Crete or Sicily, it was to become the cradle where a great people might be compounded of more than one blood. Bede, writing many years later, tells us how the Jutes settled themselves in Kent and Wight: how the Saxons fastened upon Essex, Sussex, and Wessex; how the Angles, coming from Anglen (the true Old England). founded the three mighty kingdoms of East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria, holding the whole of the coast between Stirling and Ipswich. It is with this last tribe that I am mainly concerned in this work. Fearful must have been the woes undergone by the Celts at the hands of the ruthless English heathen, men of blood and iron with a vengeance. So thoroughly was the work of extermination done, that but few Celtic words have been admitted to the right of English citizenship. The few that we have seem to show that the Celtic women were kept as slaves, while their husbands, the old owners of the land, were slaughtered in heaps. Garnett gives a list of nearly two hundred of these words, many of which belong to household management; and others, such as spree, bam, whop, balderdash, &c., can scarcely be reckoned classical English.

Old Britain was by degrees swept away, after much hard fighting; and the history of I'ew England at length begins; her birth-throes were far sharper than anything known in Spain, Gaul, or Italy.

Amid the shouts of the slayers and the groans of the slain, let us keep a steady eye upon the years 571 and 577, as recorded in the Chronicle. We there read of

the Wessex Princes winning their way to Bedford and Gloucester; they seem to have been the first Teutons who bore their arms into Salop. This fact must be kept in mind, when we come afterwards to treat of the limits of English dialects. The South-West of Mercia (to use a name that arose rather later) was first settled by Western Saxons, though it was afterwards mastered by the Angles of the Midland. It is curious that the Danes, coming much later, never settled in any of the shires conquered by the Saxons, with the one exception of Essex; the Scandinavian scourge came down almost wholly upon the Angles.

Christianity, overspreading the land in the Seventh Century, did much to lighten the woes of the downtrodden Celts: a wonderful difference there was between the Christian conquest of Somerset and the Pagan conquest of Sussex. The new creed brought in its train scores of Latin words, such as candle, altar, bishop, &c., which have been employed by us ever since the Kentish King's baptism. The Church in other lands scorned the popular speech; such broken Latin as the Hymn of St. Eulalie in France (about the year 900), seemed to be a caricature of the language of the 'Te Deum.' But with us the Church made English her handmaid; our greatest men translated the Bible or compiled Homilies in their own tongue.

At this point I halt, finding no better opportunity for setting forth the grammar employed by our forefathers, traces of which, mangled as it is by the wear and tear of centuries, may still be found.

SUBSTANTIVES.

DIVISION I.

CLASS I.

SINGULAR.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	Steorra	Tunge	Eáge
Gen.	Steorran	Tungan	Eágan
Dat.	Steorran	Tungan	Eágan
Acc.	Steorran	Tungan	Eáge

PLURAL.

Nom. Acc.	} Steorran	Tungan	Eágan
	Steorrena	Tungena	Eágena
Dat.	Steorrum	Tungum	Eágum

CLASS II.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
$egin{array}{ll} Nom. & S ext{áwel} \\ Gen. & S ext{áwle} \\ Dat. \\ Acc. \end{array} brace S ext{áwle}$	Gen. Dat.	Sáwla Sáwla, sawlena Sáwlum Sáwla	

CLASS III.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	Duru	Nom.	Dura
Gen.	Dure	Gen.	Dura (durena)
Dat.	Dure	Dat.	Durum
Acc.	Dura	Acc.	Dura

DIVISION II.

CLASS I.

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
$egin{array}{ll} Nom. \ Acc. \ Hors \ Gen. & Horses \ Dat. & Horse \ \end{array}$	$egin{aligned} Nom.\ Acc. \end{aligned} egin{aligned} Hors\ Gen. & Horsa\ Dat. & Horsum \end{aligned}$

CLASS II.

SING	ULAR.		PLURAL.
Nom.]	- Scip	$egin{aligned} Nom. \ Acc. \end{aligned}$	- Scipu
	Scipes	Gen.	Scipa
Dat.	Scipe	Dat.	Scipum

DIVISION III.

CLASS I.

Dat.

Sunum

	OLIANO 1
SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom. Dæl Acc. Dæles	$egin{array}{l} Nom. \ Acc. \ \end{bmatrix} \mathrm{D}$ ælas $Gen. \mathrm{D}$ æla $Dat. \mathrm{D}$ ælum
Dat. Dæle	Dat. Dælam
	CLASS II.
SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom. Sunu	$egin{array}{l} Nom. \ Acc. \end{array} iggr\} ext{Suna} \ Gen. \qquad ext{Suna}$
Gen Suna	Gen. Suna

Dat.

Suna

We have still a few Plurals left, formed by vowelchange from the Singular. These are feet, teeth, mice, lice, geese, mea. Some Substantives, as dver, sheep, swine, are the same in both numbers. Onen is our one Plural in ea that has come down from very early times.

ADJECTIVES.

DEFINITE DECLENSION.

SINGULAR.

	Masc.	Fem.	Xeut.
Nom.	Góda	Góde	Góde
Gen.	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan
Dat.	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan
Acc.	Gódan	Gódan	Góde

PLURAL.

Nom.	Gódan
Acc.	COULD
Gen.	Góden
Dat.	Gódun

INDEFINITE DECLENSION.

SINGULAR.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	Gód	Gód	Gód
Gen.	Gódes	Gódre	Gódes
Dat.	Gódum	Godre	Godum
Acc.	Gódne	Góde	God

PLURAL.

Ma	usc. and Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	} Góde	Gód(u)
	Gódra	Gódra
Dat.	Gódum	Gódum

DEMONSTRATIVES.

	srx	GULAR.		PLURAL.
Nom. Gen. Dat. Acc. Abl.	Masc. se þæs þam þone þŷ	Fem. seo pêre pêre pî p	Neut. þæt þæs þam þæt þý	Nom. } pa Acc. } pa Gen. pâra Dat. pâm
	SIN	GULAR.		PLURAL.
Nom. Gen. Dat. Acc.	Masc. pes pises pisum pisne	Fem. peôs pisse pisse pâs	Neut. þis þises þisum þis	Nom. } pâs Acc. } pâs Gen. pissa Dat. pisum

PRONOUNS.

		SINGULAR.		DUA	L.
Nom.		þu	Nom.		git
Gen.	\mathbf{m} în	þîn	Gen.	uncer	incer
Dat. Acc.	me	ре	Dat. $Acc.$	unc	inc

PLURAL.

Nom. w	e ge
Gen. û	e eowe:
$\left\{ egin{array}{l} Dat. \\ Acc. \end{array} ight\} \hat{\mathbf{u}}$	eów
Acc.	

SINGULAR.

PLURAL.

	Masc.	Fem.	_\eut.		
Nom.	he	heô	hit	$egin{aligned} Nom.\ Acc. \end{aligned} \}$	154
Gen.	his	$_{ m hire}$	his	Acc. J	. 111
Dat.	$_{ m him}$	hire	$_{ m him}$	Gen.	hira
Acc.	hine	\mathbf{hi}	hit	Du^{t} .	$_{ m him}$

Mas	c. and Fem .	Neut.
Nom.	hwâ	hwæt
Gen.	hwæs	hwæs
Dat.	hwam	hwam
Acc.	hwone	hwæt
4 1/1.	$hw\hat{v}$	$hw\hat{v}$

THE STRONG VERB.

(Infinitive, healdan.)

INDICATIVE.

-	
PRESE	NT.

Perfect.

Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
healde	healdað	heôld	heôldon
hvlst	healdað	heólde	${f he\^{o}ldon}$
hvlt	haldað	heôld	heôldon

SUBJUNCTIVE.

PRESENT.		Perfect.
Sing.	healde	heôlde
Plur.	healdon	heôldon

IMPERATIVE.

Sing. heald Plur. healdað

GERUND.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.

PAST PARTICIPLE.

To healdanne

healdende gehealden

THE WEAK VERB.

(Infinitive, lufian.)

INDICATIVE.

Present.		PERFECT.	
Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
lufige	lufiað	lufode	lufodon
lufast	lufiað	lufodest	lufodon
lufað	lufiað	lufode	lufodon

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Present.		PERFECT
Sing.	lufige	lufode
Plur.	lufion	lufodon

IMPERATIVE.

lufa Sing. Plur. lufiað

GERUND.	ACTIVE PARTICIPLE	E. PAST PARTICIPLE.
To lufigenne	lufigende	gelufod

In tracing the history of English corruptions, we must remember that the books upon which we have to depend were written at very different times. When we find any construction common to Gothic and English, we may feel pretty sure that this form was used by Hengist. There are some Charters, in Kemble's Collection, of the Eighth Century with very old forms; these we have in a transcript, made 300 years later. King Alfred's translation of Pope Gregory's Pastoral Care. printed for the first time in 1871 just as the great King wrote it (and not as his later transcribers corrupted it). teaches us what were the Southern forms of the year 890 or thereabouts. The bulk of Old English literature belongs to the next century. Then come the Southern Gospels, which were translated a little before the year 1000, and are more English in their idioms than Wickliffe's later version is.1 The Saxon Chronicle carries us thence to the great landmark, the year 1066; and for this last period we may also consult the mass of Old English printed by Mr. Thorpe in his 'Analecta Anglo-Saxonica,' and by Mr. Sweet in his 'Anglo-Saxon Reader.' There is, moreover, the Tale of Apollonius and the Legends of the Holy Rood, works that seem rather late, perhaps about 1050. There are, further, the more modern English Charters printed in Kemble's 'Codex Diplomaticus.' I have been careful to quote here none of these last that bear evident marks of later transcription.

¹ For example; in St. John xx. 22, occurs insufflavit with no pronoun following. The Gospels of 1000 translate, bleow he on hi: Wickliffe meagrely translates, he blew ynne.

No language has changed its vowel sounds so much as English has done. We must remember that the old a, e, i, o, and u, were pronounced by our fathers much as the Italians do now; and this lasted in Southern England down to 1530, as Palsgrave tells us. A remnant of the old pronunciation is still found in father, plega (now play), and ripere (now reaper). Our yawn is a clumsy attempt to preserve the sound of the old quinian. Every educated man should sound words like father and bath as broad as he can. The vowel u was sounded in the broad Italian way, as wund, tu, our wound, two; and ow had much the same sound; Stow is written Stou in Doomsday Book: the Southern eower was iur in Northumbria, our your; what we now write new was written of old both neowe and nive. Poitou, Anjou, and Ponthieu, appear in the Saxon Chronicle as Peitowe, Angeow, and Puntiw. Of all our English sounds ew has been the most abiding. The eaw seems to have been sounded like the French iou, as in sceawe and feave: the latter form was written by Tyndale so late as 1525. The æ and ea seem to have been pronounced much like the old e; we see Rams written for Rheims, Herbearde for the French Herbert. Our glaze and hair show the old sounds of glæsen and hær; we pronounce to this day wear and great in the true Old English way; the Irish in speaking of tea still keep the right seund which has been lost in England since Pope's time. The ie also had the sound of the French ê. Our au or aw must. as a general rule, have been sounded like the French ou; the Goths wrote praitorium for the Latin prætorium; and daur for what in English was written duru

(ostium). Our old nawiht and sawel were, rather later. written nouht and soul. What we now call awl (subula) was al from Kent to Dorset, and owul or ewl from Dorset to Salop. The Gothic has sewhum for our old gesawon (vidimus), and we find in the earliest English both streowberie and struwberie.1 It seems, however, that the ou sound never came into pâwa (peacock), the English imitation of the Latin pavo; and King Alfred writes Agustinus for Augustinus. When we see the three Old English forms, ador, auder, auder (aut), it is hard to say whether the second should be pronounced like the first, that is, like the broad Italian a, or whether it should be sounded like the Italian u; we know that rather later it was spelt ouder. King Alfred often has o for a, as in-mon and lore; he has bio we (not beo we); he often has i for y, as in ildo (xtas). When we see his hine lyso (Pastoral, 391), we see the old form that gave birth to the two variations, listeth and lusteth; it is the same with ful (foul) and filth. We find not only supan, but two other forms, sip and sup, both of which we keep. The old y was most likely pronounced like the present French u, the sound still often heard in Devonshire. In the Chronicle of 1049, the Flemish town we call Bruges is written Brycge. Alfred has glii (our glee) for the more usual gleow, and here we have followed him. We sometimes express two different ideas by varying the sound, not the spelling, of a word; thus a man throws a stone, and weighs not more than so many stone (stun).

¹ In our New Testament *strawed* still stands for what is usually written *strewed*; this we owe to Tyndale.

Proper names, more than anything else, keep the old sound of vowels. Thus, the river Ouse has not changed in sound, though our fathers wrote it as Use: it has never been sounded like the present German au. Cowper shows how the old ow, the French ou, was pronounced. Aldgate reminds us that ald was the old sound of what is now called old; Birmingham brings before us the ham or home of the Birmings; and Stanton, in many parts of the country, bears witness that our stone was once everywhere written stan. In Yorkshire, where a first began to be sounded like the French ê, Stanton is now written Langport, in Somerset, still keeps the old sound in its first syllable, though in common speech lang became long seven hundred years ago in the South. The Scotch surnames, M'Lean and Græme, keep alive the old sound of ea and a; Baird remains to show how beard (barba) was once pronounced. The true sound of the old ceaster lives in the East Anglian Caistor.

There are two marked tendencies in English, shared by some of the other Tentonic dialects, which should be observed.

The first is, a liking to cast out the letter n, if it comes before th, s, or f. We see by the German and Norse that our other was once anther or onther; much in the same way touth, finf, gons, became $t\delta\delta$, fif, $g\delta s$, lengthening the vowel before n.

The second of our peculiarities is, a habit of putting d or t after n, l, r, or s, usually to round off the end of a word, though it sometimes is inserted in the middle of a word. Thus the French tyran becomes tyrant, the Gaelic Donuil becomes Donald; the Old English between

is now betwixt; thou falles (akin to the Greek and Latin form) is corrupted into fallest; but the true old form of this last still lingers in Scotland. Those who talk about a gownd or of being drownded may plead that they are only carrying further a corruption that began long before the Norman Conquest, and that has since that event turned thunor into thunder, and dwine into dwindle.

Many in our day call a wasp a wapse, and axe leave instead of asking it. Both forms alike are good old English; we also find side by side jise and fix, beenht and bryht, græs and gærs, irnan and rinnen, for piscis, clarus, gramen, and currere. When men say, 'they don't care a curse' (the last word is commonly something still stronger), they little think that they are employing the old English cerse, best known to us as cress.

The interchange of letters in English is most curious. We may still say either blench or flinch, either blush or flush. The frith (pax), still kept in the Frithstool at Beverley, might be also written grith. Of old we might write either chirk or chirp, wealcan, wealtian, or wealwian (all answering to volvere), brekil or britel, feccian or fettian, still or stif, ufcweardan or upweard, slippery or slidderi. The g has long had a tendency to slide into w, as we see by the Sanscrit gharma and the English warm; in our oldest works we find both stregdan and strewian for spargere, sagon and sawon for viderunt. Often does the Gothic g appear as w in English. Our slap must be looked for in the old slæge. The interchange of s and r dates from the earliest times, as in the Latin honos and

honor; hence came our I was, we were; frozen, froren; lose, lorn. Most of us who have had to do with masons know the meaning of scamped work: this unlucky verb may come from scant, with two changes of consonants that are pretty common.

The interchange of vowels was frequent. We may still translate fugere by either fly or flee, following the oldest usage; our week was formerly both wice and wuce. This accounts for our stint and stunt, with different shades of meaning; smitan (polluere) has dropped, but smut remains. In our present verb for mentiri, we have taken our pattern from the Second Person, bu luhst. rather than from the First Person, ic leoge. scapan and sceapan (fingere) run side by side. It is a pity that we have lost our accents: we can now no longer distinguish between metan (metiri) and métan (occurrere). We often see our vowels doubled, to mark a difference; thus god (bonus) became good, that it might not be confounded with our word for Deus; goodly and godly have different shades of meaning. It is the same with tool and toll, cook and cock, and many others. King Alfred led the way, in doubling the letter o.1

We still keep the old blendan (miscere), but we have changed blendian (excecare) into blind, thinking it was too like the former verb. Wrath stood of old for both ira and iracundus; we now mark the adjective by substituting o for a; this is an improvement. Class stood for our cloth and our clothes alike.

A slight vowel change makes a great difference in the gentility of proper names; see Blount and Blunt, Smythe and Smith.

We have had a sore loss, since Spenser's day, in parting with the e so often sounded at the end of words. This began very early, for we find warp (dignus) written as well as warps.

The changes in pronouncing and spelling are all brought about by laziness in the speakers; hence it came that even in the year 803 our English tongue was very far gone from old Arvan purity. In a Worcester Charter of that year (Kemble, I. 222), wilde (our would) replaces wolde; moun and londe are written for man and Ninety years later, King Alfred, unlike the Germans, shows a distaste for the hard y in the middle of a word; he writes ren (rain), denode, gesæd (said). · underled, instead of the right rean, degnode, gesægd. underlægd. The English led of the last word is cut very short, when we compare it with the Gothic qulaqid. He sometimes softens g at the beginning of a word, writing ionga (young), not geonga; just as yera (annus) in Gothic answered to the English gear. The ge of the Past Participle is by him often clipped, as drifen for gedrifen. He casts both the n and d out of the old endlefta (eleventh), writing hundælleftiogoðan (Pastoral Care, 465). At page 307, we see the old sende turned into our sent (misit), and at page 170, begyrde becomes begurd, our begirt. The n, in which always of old the Wessex Infinitive ended, is beginning to be lost. Instead of the old beod ge, the slovenly beo ge (be ye) is coming

¹ The ge is replaced by i, prefixed to Participles, so early as the tenth century. See Mr. Sweet's note, Pastoral Care, 489. The common form nothink shows how hard the g must have been sounded at the end of a word.

in; it prevailed in most of the manuscripts of the next age. The o at the end of the Verb, as in ic biddo, was now about to disappear in the South.

In the year 991 (Kemble's Charters, III. 256), hæfde is corrupted into hædde (habuit). In 995 (III. 295), betest (optimus) is changed for the Danish bezt, in a will; but the z never became very common in our Tentonic words. We have preferred seol (phoca) to seolh; though the Laird of Monkbarns, even so late as 1800, called it sealgh. The h was pronounced as a strong guttural, for Ælfeah became the Latin Elphegus.

The letter r must have been sounded strong, as the Scotch and Irish pronounce it now; boren was written for born (natus) even down to the Reformation: our laziness has mauled the fine old sound. The letter n was often added to roots in English verbs; thus we have both to slake and to slacken, heark and hearken, list and listen, wake and waken; we black boots, but we blacken a good name. So in Icelandic we find both blika and blikna. Sometimes l is employed instead of n; thus in Old English both nistian and nestlian were used, each derived from nest, and each having a different shade of meaning.

There is a tendency in th, the English sound that answers to the Sanscrit and Latin t, to slide into d; and this must have begun very early. In Gothic, both whap and whad are found for whither. In English, we see not only cwide, but cwide (dictum). There is now a difference between thrilling the soul of a man and drilling a hole in his body. The sxide xide xide, which must have been our oldest form of the Latin satur, has given way

to sed. Since the Conquest, rother has become rudder, byroen burden, and murther murder. As to cwepan, we have kept nearer to the right spelling in bequeath than in quoth. We talk of a settle; but in Hardwick's Saxon Gospels (St. Matt. xxv. 31) setl, sedel, and sedle are employed by three different writers between 950 and 1000, when Englishing.

Christianity enriched our tongue with many new foreign words, as we see from one short sentence in a Charter of 831, aghwile diacon arede twa passione (Kemble, I. 292). King Alfred shows us in his Pastoral Care how early letters and words that came through the Latin began to work a change in English. We there find not only Sacharias, but Zacharias; the z and ch were entire strangers to Pagan England: Bede had most likely naturalised them long before Alfred's time. We are not surprised after this to find the King spelling English words like pohcha, pouch, (343); tiohchode (385), and hliehchan, laugh (249), though in all these the ch must have been sounded hard. Lazarus was spelt Ladzarus, showing the Italian way of pronouncing z; in the Rushworth Gospels (St. Luke x. 10), in plateas is Englished by on plætsa (piazza). Alfred was not particular about his Latin cases; he talks of ourh Paulus (306), he has the Genitive Suncte Paules (290), also of Ieremie (441). Sa Saducie and Sa Farisseos (363)—this last word, here used as a Nominative, would remind an Englishman of his national Plural ending in as. One of the first instances of the v, which has driven out f from the middle of many an English word, is found in Alfred's phrase on Livano, in Lebanon. His spelling seems something

born out of due time; he is a forestaller, as it were. of our modern ways, for we have followed him rather than later writers of the Tenth Century, especially in spelling bogh (ramus), not boh (Pastoral, 81); burg. not burh (hence the Borgo at Rome); and in words like friend and fiend, which rather later were written freend and feond. The old form was luckily kept in He has also our common au in Kent and Essex. nauht and auht, hefon for heofon, apla for æppel, ascian for axian. The new ou was in the end, as a general form, to supplant u, and Alfred writes nouver. He is fond of doubling o, just as we have done since Chaucer's time: the King writes foot, doo, good, In Pages 28 he puts gecnewon (knew) and 103and strewede (strewed) where later writers would have written gecneôwon and streôwode; ed very early replaced od. He couples c and k, the Southern and Northern letters, in Sicke (P. 329): this was not much imitated until 1180. He often puts k for c, and u for w, like the Northumbrians. He writes oregeard, our orchard, in Page 381; showing the close alliance there is between c and t, for the word was usually ortgeard.1 In Page 171 we see rædinge and leornunge; the old ung at the end of a word was making way for ing, the new form for Verbal Nouns. He is not very fond of the diphthongs, in which Southern England rejoiced down to 1205; he puts let for læt, and he writes hiew (color, Page 133), showing us that we have not changed our pronunciation of this word for the last thousand years; if we were to pronounce it as we spell it now, we should say hoo-y. Our

¹ See page 86 of my Book.

true is more like Alfred's trua (Pastoral, 242) than it is to the more common treowe (confidence). We know how many in our day sound news as if it was noos; but we have in general faithfully kept the ew sound, unless when it follows l or r, as blew and rew, rue.

In writers a little later than Alfred, but living before the Norman Conquest, we find Indie for India, Iuliuses for the genitive of Julius, and Theodor for Theodorus, (Thorpe's 'Analecta,' 43-51). The second example foreshadows our crisises and crocuses. So early as the time of the Rushworth Gospels (St. John xix. 5) purple was written instead of the Southern purpur. The Latin castella is translated in the Gospels of 1000 by ceastra, the crumbling casters or chesters still left in our land to bear witness how Rome of yore laid her iron grip upon Britain. Sometimes in the Gospels the Latin castellum, meaning a village, is Englished by castel, a word which fifty years later, when French ideas first began to take root in our land, was to be applied usually to a fortress. We of 1877 are sometimes more Teutonic than our fathers; thus we say cup, not calic, in the Eucharist.

Latin was the official language of religion in Western Christendom; it early gained a footing among foreign nations. We can guess how it was pronounced down to about the year 400, when we see sakerdos imitated by the Irish soggarth, and lukerna by the Gothic lukarn. The Latin sound e was rendered by the Gothic ai, as

¹ Tadcaster, and many another town with the same ending, keeps the old castra alive in our mouths.

The influence of Latin soon made itself felt in England. Time was computed by Kalends, Nones, and Ides. The Churchmen brought scores of Latin words into vogue, which have kept their ground for the last twelve hundred years. We even formed new English verbs from the Latin: thus beclysan, our enclose, must have sprung in early days from the noun clusing, which itself came from the foreign clausus, claustrum. strangest compounds of Latin and English is the word sol-sece, the flower that seeks the sun; noontide is something of the same kind. English sometimes throws light upon old Latin pronunciation. Thus, in the great Roman colonies of the Rhine land, the name of the huge earth-shaking beast must have been sounded elep-has; and this our forefathers called ylp, which lasted down to 1230. When we see the Latin pavo Englished as pawa, we get a hint as to the way the Latin v was pronounced, at least in some provinces; the sound afterwards changed on the Continent, for fers and serfis, not wers and serwis, was written by Englishmen before the Norman Conquest for versus and servitium. Grimm's Law tells us plainly that words like temper and fæmne, found in early English writings, were borrowed from the Latin, and that they have not always been in English use.

We have already seen the careful heed which the English bestowed upon the cases of their nouns, the inflections which they had brought from the Oxus. King Alfred first shows us how these began to be corrupted in the South; the um of the Dative Plural, which appears in every one of our old Declensions, seems to have always been the first inflection to be mauled. In the Pastoral

Care, 347, we find mid vam yvon; on vam midan stormum, 59; and many more such instances could be given. The process went on in the Gospels of a century later, and the um was all but gone by the year 1200.

Our sweetmeat is very old, for it is found as sweetmete. But sometimes two Substantives are yoked together, as wudu-luniq, wood-honey; here the first substantive has the force of an adjective; it is a peculiarly English idiom. Our country house is surely much less cumbrous than the French maison de campagne. The old phrase 'a Parliament man' is better than 'a member of the Legislature.' Sometimes one of these old expressions seems to be wholly gone, and then is revived in very modern times. Thus our fathers spoke of a wif-freend; this has come to life again in our 'lady-friend.' In St. Luke xi. 12, we read scorpionem, det is an wyrm cynn. Here once more two substantives are coupled; we should now say, 'a kind of worm.' The old carl-catt has now become tom-cat: this change cannot well have taken place until after the death of St. Thomas of the English. We should carry on the process of coupling nouns as much as possible, if we wish to enrich our tongue, and our Poets should here take the lead. No language but English would now use so concise and handy a phrase as 'The Commons Enclosure Consolidation Act.' 2 A Substantive was sometimes dropped to save breath; as in a sentence from the Chronicle of 982, Æpelmæres lic lip

¹ I have heard *lady-dog* in the mouths of *nice* people ever since 1843. Lord Kames used to employ a far plainer word, as Scott tells us.

² See Earle's Philology, p. 471.

(here), and Eadwines (there); lic should have been repeated after the second proper name. Mätzner (III. 225) quotes ic was on évle pinum, pu wurde on minum; here the évle is not repeated.

I have already remarked upon English terseness. This is seen in the phrase Gode Sonc, 'thanks (be to) God,' which comes like a parenthesis in the middle of a sentence in the Pastoral, p. 26. Again, in Ælfric's Homilies (Sweet's 'Anglo-Saxon Reader,' p. 85), we find se apostol was nigon geara; here old has been dropped.

In p. 57 of the same book we read for Godes lufan; here we should now say, 'for love to God.' Hence comes 'the King's traitor,' and many such phrases, which lasted long.

In this work I find it very convenient to talk, like the Greeks, of the Old and the New. In former days an Adjective was often used as a Substantive, as ure ieldran (Pastoral, 5), our elders, forefathers; hence we say, 'your betters,' 'your superiors.' Thus the Substantive goods was formed from the Adjective, as in Latin. 'There is not his like' is but the old his gelica nis (Thorpe's 'Analecta,' 34). Our on the loose is foreshadowed by on pam drygean (St. Luke xxiii. 31). In the Pastoral, p. 399, Lot says, her is an lytele burg . . . heo is an lytel; in our days. we should add one to the last word. In p. 385 comes ou gionga, thou young un; this un or one did not take the place of the final a until 1290. In this way the old bedrida became bedridden. Our well-known 'easy does it' is a curious substitution of an Adjective for a Substantive. The deep might stand for the Latin mare, as it does in our time.

We know our poetic construction of Adjectives, as seen in Mr. Tennyson's 'a grey old wolf and a lean.' Something like this, though not exactly the same, may be seen in St. Luke xxiii. 50, where Joseph is described as gôd wer and rihtwis.

We sometimes see an English Adjective clipped in a way that the Latin would not bear. In the Chronicle of the year 980, norð scipherige is put for 'the northern army.'

Now and then a word compounded of an Adjective and a Substantive is used as an Adjective, as barefoot; barehead lasted down to the Fifteenth Century. We might say of old both an-eage and an-eged, one-eyed. We often compound a Substantive with an Adjective, as the old blodread, 'blood-red.'

Our good, as we know, is sometimes used in a sense differing from virtuous. We might justify, from the Saxon Chronicle, our phrases 'a good while ago' and 'a good deal of work,' like Horace's bona pars hominum.

Our poets keep alive Old English epithets, dating from the earliest times; thus we find in Kemble's Charters, IV. 292, red gold mentioned.

One of our heaviest losses is the almost total disuse of the un, so often prefixed to Adjectives, as in un-good, un-mighty, and many others. It was also prefixed to Substantives as un-might, and I rejoice to see that such words as unwisdom are once more coming to life in our land. We also talk of un-churching, just as Burnet wrote of un-shrining and un-sainting. The Gothic opposes unhabands (he that hath not) to habands. The

freer play that is given to this good old Teutonic prefix, the better will it be for our tongue. It is a shame to use non as a prefix where un will do; this is as bad as subletting insead of underletting. The old prefix wan, something like un, now lives only in wan-ton.

Of all our parts of speech the Verb is the most precious, for in its varied forms we find most traces of hoary Aryan eld. We keep many old verbal idioms with but little change, such as 'I am seeking,' 'I am come,' 'they are gone, 'he thought to slay,' 'seek to come,' 'enough to eat,' 'worthy to bear,' 'this house to let,' 'fair to see,' 'I do you to wit,' 'he is going to read,' he gæð rædan. The Gerund was much used, as, ic tô drincenne hæbbe, 'I have to drink,' like Cicero's habeo dicere; wæron tô farenne, 'they were to go.' Mæl is me tô feran, is like the Gothic mel du bairan (St. Luke i. 57). Our curious idiom of Participles, 'he ceased commanding,' 'they dreaded asking,' is found in Old English, as, geendude bebeôdende, ondrêdon âcsigende. So also, 'I heard him speaking,' 'I saw it burnt.' He hæfde hine geworhtne, 'he had him wrought,' common enough with us, is not often found in Greek or Latin. The Present Participle is often used as a Substantive, as 'the living and the dying.' It has always been allowed to prefix un, as 'the unbelieving,' 'the unbecoming.' The Past Participle was used in the same way, as, se awyrqda (the accursed).

The Future was expressed by shall and will, but oftener by the Present; we still say, 'another word, and I go.' Ic môt, pû môst, expressed permission, and was very seldom used in our sense of must, expressing need; licet, not oportet, was the idea. The Second Person of the

Present sometimes replaced the Imperative, as, six dagas pu wircst, in the Fourth Commandment. We sometimes use the Future as a mild Imperative; you will go there; here will keeps one of its old senses, (oportet). If an idea has to be presented both in the Present and Future tense, the Verb often stands in the Present, and is followed by will without an infinitive. This is true English conciseness. Mätzner quotes from Exodus: pis folc wixp and swidor wyle, 'this folk waxeth and will (wax) further.' On the other hand, the shall is sometimes dropped before a second infinitive; Cadmon's Satan mourns dat Adam seeal wesan on wynne and we polien.

The should is employed in a most curious old idiom, to be found in King Alfred's tale about Orpheus; 'they said that the harper's wife sceolde acwelan: 'we simply say 'that the wife died.' Hence comes our phrase; 'who should come up but Thomas,' that is 'who came up.' The should is further used instead of shall; our fathers translated the Latin debeo by sceal; but King Alfred shows us the idiom that we still keep, &a reaferas geŏenceaŏ, ac hi sceoldon gehieran, &c. (Pastoral Care, 343). The secoldon in this passage clearly stands for debent, not for debuerunt. The old meaning of shall is kept in the bidding prayer before University sermons; 'ye shall pray for all mankind,' &c.; so too, 'Thou shalt not steal.' The confusion between shall and will is very old. In St. John vii. 35, the Gothic has, 'whadre sa skuli qaqqan?' the English has, 'hwyder wyle des faran?' (whither will this man go?) the Greek word here is mellei.

There is a curious idiom of will, still often heard in the North, an idiom which may be found in the Pastoral Care, 451; hweet wile vet nu been weerca? what work must this be? Mätzner quotes other sentences of this kind from the Beethius; it is to be remarked that these are all questions. I heard an old woman say at the Leeds Exhibition, as she stood before a portrait: 'That will be Shakespeare, a'm thinking.'

Since the Norman Conquest, the bare Future has always been expressed, at least in Southern England, by I shall, thou wilt, he will; a most curious anomaly, by which the Scotch, Irish, Welsh, and some of the American States, are thoroughly puzzled. Everyone knows the famous 'I will be drowned, and no man shall save me.' Even Thackeray, after travelling in Ireland, confused the two verbs, as may be seen in his 'Irish Sketch-book.' I will should never be used unless earnest intention or a promise is to be expressed: thou shalt, he shall, should never be used unless fate, duty, or command, is to be expressed; shall answers fairly well to must, as we now use the latter. As regards the bare Future, perhaps the reason for the aforesaid anomaly is, that a man has complete control over himself, and therefore employs the grave and weighty I shall; he has no such absolute control over others, as a general rule, and therefore employs the lighter thou wilt, he will.1

¹ Herodotus, as is well known, sometimes uses $\theta \epsilon \lambda \omega$, like our will, to express the bare Future. We say 'I will gladly do it,' but on the other hand, 'I shall like to do it;' in the last instance it is felt that the will, expressing earnest assurance, would be a pleonasm if used with the verb like.

Let us hope that we shall always cleave to the ancient Subjunctive form, 'as it were,' instead of 'as it might be.' The old Imperative wes (esto) is nowhere found now, except in wassail (wes hâl).

We have seen how useful the verb do has always been in framing our English speech. A phrase like he doth withstand (not he withstands) seems modern; but it is found in King Alfred's writings. Our emphatic do was sometimes prefixed to the Imperative. Christ said to the woman taken in adultery, 'Dô gâ, and ne synga pû næfre mâ' (St. John viii. 11). Do not thou turn was expressed of old as ne dô pû, pæt pû oncyrre. The verb do was also employed, both transitively and otherwise, to save the repetition of a former verb; Alfred speaks of planting an assembly, sua se ceorl deð his ortgeard. (Pastoral, 293), 'as the churl doth his orchard.'

We see an attempt to supply the want of a Middle Voice in such phrases as hê bepohte hine, 'he bethought him,' and the later 'I fear me.' 'It rained fire,' is a true Old English phrase. We have some Impersonal Verbs left, and one that is very precious, since no it comes before the Verb in question. This is me thinks (mihi videtur), which has nothing to do with think (putare). We should not confound the two, if the second were written in the right way, thenk. The Germans, wiser than the English, have kept the two verbs distinct.

We sometimes see the pronoun thou cast off after the Verb, especially in a question. Mätzner quotes Eart nu tidfara? Hence comes the later dost hear? what says? The disgusting what say? one of our latest improvements, seems to belong here.

The Nominative is dropped before the Verb, in sentences like do what I can, go where we will. This is seen in the old hyege swû he wille.

We speak of a horse sometimes as gone lame. In St. John iv. 6, we see he was werig gegan; the verb of motion having taken the sense of fieri; rather later, become was to take the same meaning.

The Infinitive of verbs of motion is often dropped after shall or must. Ic him æfter sceal (I shall after him) is an old idiom.

We see our common Infinitive, with should prefixed, very early encroaching upon the rightful Subjunctive. In the Pastoral, p. 381, comes 'hear what is written that the bridegroom scolde sprecan.' These last two verbs were usually expressed by one word, like the Latin loqueretur. This secolde with the Infinitive very often followed that in a dependent sentence. Now and then we find may, might, used with the Infinitive, where the Subjunctive is most usual.

We have always used *I* would for the O ptative, like the Latin vellem. Mätzner quotes from Boethius ic wolde pæt he sceamode.

The *if* could always be got rid of in English, and a shorter construction might be used; as, *ahte ic geweald*, *ponne ic werode*; here the first clause would be in Latin, *si potestatem haberem*.

The Subjunctive usually, but now and then the Indicative, followed that, ere, though, when, and if.

The Latin nisi was sometimes Englished by nære pæt (were it not that), followed by the Subjunctive.

Intransitive Verbs sometimes took an Accusative of the same stem; live a life, fight a fight, deem a doom. Lord Derby imitated this very early idiom in his version of the Iliad; 'knee me no knees.'

We sometimes find two Infinitives coupled together, as, 'Let her go hang.' This dates from the earliest times; in the Beowulf is found, we môton gangan....

Hrôðgår geseon. The phrases 'I heard say,' 'he let them speak,' &c., are equally old. But where the Gothic and Latin have the Accusative with the Infinitive, English commonly put that with a dependent sentence; as, 'hit betere wære pæt an man swulte.'

The English sometimes put a Past Participle where the Gothic set an Infinitive; as in St. Luke iv. 23, we gehŷrdon gedône.

The Dative Past Participle Absolute is found early, as gefylledum dagum, 'the days having been fulfilled.' We still say this done (hoc facto).

Now and then we find a Verbal idiom which is very old, though it seems modern. Thus in the Pastoral Care, p. 393, Solomon, when he began to sacrifice to idols, forgêt hine selfne, 'forgot himself.' The Latin morte afficient (St. Matt. x. 21) is translated by a sound old English idiom, to deape fordôp (do to death). One curious fact about English is, that many idioms found in the oldest books disappear for hundreds of years, and then crop up again. Such a phrase as 'he doth withstand' seems to be dropped after the Norman Conquest, but comes up again fresh as ever two hundred years later. It is the same with words. The old teorian (deficere) disappeared for many centuries; it is not

found in the Bible of Tyndale's time except in the French sense of adorn, but about 1590 it crops up in the shape of tire (to weary), and is seen in Shakespeare. What in the English of 1000 was nû geteorige (St. Luke xviii. 1) is in Tyndale not to be wery. So frician (saltare) seems to be the parent of our modern freak.

In our days, we put 'to speak shortly' in the middle of a sentence; this is an abridged form of our fathers' hradost is to cwedenne, which comes in a catalogue of sins in p. 110 (Sweet's 'Reader').

We now come to Pronouns. Sometimes he is used, as well as a substantive, to govern a verb. St. Matt. xxvii. 19 he sæt oa Pilatus: we now often hear say 'he sat then, did Pilate.' The idiom in 'thy rod and thy staff they comfort me' dates from the oldest The hit in English may stand for any masculine or feminine object, or for an indefinite subject. Thus in St. Mark x. 47. hit was se Hålend replaces the older Gothic Iesus ist. In St. John xviii. 5 ic hit eom stands for the Gothic ik im, I am he. This it often goes before an Infinitive, as 'it is good to praise,' or before a concessive sentence, as 'it is no wonder if I fear.' In St. Matt. xxvii. 6. nis hyt nú álúfed is substituted for the Gothic ni skuld ist, 'it is not allowed;' but sometimes we omit it, as in 'dydon swa beboden wæs,' 'acted as was ordered.' In the Pastoral, 381, we see the first glimpse of our emphatic 'it was then that he did it.' det bid donne dæt mon gehiere, donne, &c. Sometimes, as we have just seen, det replaces hit, and may be followed by a Plural, as in the Pastoral, 409, vet sindan va va ve ne beod besmitene, 'these are they that be not defiled:' bot was god cyning, like our 'that is a good fellow.'

Indefinite agency was expressed of old as much as now; as ponne hig wyriao eôw, 'when they revile you.'

Personal Pronouns are sometimes reflexives, as I lay me down; sittaò eôw (Pastoral, 385). They are sometimes even added to an intransitive verb, as gâ ò e on sibbe, 'go in peace' (St. Mark v. 34), where the Gothic has gagg, with no Pronoun. Hence comes our 'get you gone,' and such like. Phrases like I shame me, I repent me, are first seen in texts like ondrêd he him (St. John xix. 8). English is unluckily without the reflexive Gothic sik, the Latin se.

The strange Dative reflexive has always been used, as Pilatus hym sylf āwrāt. Indeed, there are old instances of this Dative Pronoun being employed as a Nominative by itself. The sylf sometimes stands as a Substantive; for Mätzner quotes 'hæfdon geweald heora âgenes sylfes,' 'had power over their own person.' When we look back upon the aforesaid Dative reflexive, we see that the Irish are right in saying meself, not myself; the former is the old Dative me sylf, brought to Erin by Strongbow's men-at-arms. In St. Mark ix. 2, sylfe stands for the Gothic ainans; lædde hī sylfe on sundron, 'he led them by themselves apart.'

Before entering on the next subject, it is impossible to refrain from pointing out how much bad grammar would now be avoided had we English anything answering to the Latin distinction between suns and illius, se and illum.

The Possessive Pronoun is often used without any substantive, as *eall double his ne sie*, 'all that is not his,' (Pastoral, 333). It is sometimes tacked on to a Sub-

stantive, for Mätzner quotes, Enac his cynrŷn (Anak's kin), Numbers xiii. 29.

We still use the Definite Article to express high respect, as The Macnab, The Duke, The Chronicle, The Charter. In the Pastoral, 301, we find se ure Aliesend, 'our great Redeemer,' 'that Redeemer of ours.' What the Romans called Cæsar was known to the English as se Caser.

The Definite Article is coupled with Participles, just as it is with Adjectives; as the chosen of the Almighty. On the other hand, the Article is now omitted, just as it was omitted before the Norman Conquest, in phrases like send word, on earth, in bed, at heart, in hand. If we read of Sinai munt and Herode cyning, we are not astonished at our now using London town, King Herod, Twelfth Night.

The seô, which usually stands for the Feminine Definite Article, sometimes stands by itself, like heô. Hence comes our she. In the Gothic version of St. Mark vi. 24, si qap is used where we should now say quoth she. And swarude se him (St. Matt. xxi. 30); here se translates the Latin ille.

The Dative Singular Feminine, pære, has still all the force of ista in the mouths of the vulgar, as in that there woman; but they apply it to all genders. In St. Matt. x. 23, we see on pysse byrig... and on pære.

The them, representing the Latin illis, though found in Gothic (St. Mark ix. 16), did not make much way in England until about 1200. We find, however, ahæfen on öæm (Pastoral, p. 371).

Se, seô, pæt, are old Demonstrative Pronouns, which have been used later as Definite Articles. In

St. Luke x. 28 we find the Gothic pata tawei, where Tyndale has this do. In the Pastoral, 48, we see an idiom still well known to us: ŏæt wæs Hieremias, 'that was Jeremiah.' In St. Luke i. 39, the Latin in illis diebus is translated by the Gothic in paim dagam, and by the English on ŏam dagum; our lower classes in the South (as also the Irish) still hold to the right old way and say, 'in them days.' Our corrupt those came from Yorkshire, and was never heard of in written English until 1250.

There was a Gothic jains for iste, and we find its kindred English form in Alfred's Pastoral, 443, gong to geonre byrg, 'go to yonder burgh.' This word did not become common in English until 300 years after Alfred's day. In the Rushworth Gospels illuc is translated by geond (St. Matt. xxvi. 36), our yonder.

The old $\delta y lic$ or δilc is used where the Gothic swaleik, such, came; as in St. Luke ix. 9, hweet is δes , be δam ic δilc gehigre? The aforesaid thilk afterwards became a Demonstrative, and has been used in the sense of iste in the South and West ever since 1220. This seems to have been foreshadowed so early as 890; $\delta y llic$ is opposed to δis in the Pastoral, 315, where Alfred is translating Isaiah lviii. 5, 6: 'I have not chosen that fast, but this fast.' In the Lindisfarne Gospels, fifty years later than Alfred's time, eos is translated by δa ilco (St. Matt. xxvii. 10).

One old English use of the Pronoun should be specially marked, since some mistakes have been made about it in our day. In their midst is a thoroughly good

idiom, for in medio eorum (St. Matt. xviii. 2) is Englished by on hyra midlen.¹

The well-known Latin phrase quo plus . . . eo plus, becomes in English bið þý heardra, þe swiþôr beátað, 'it becomes the harder, the stronger they beat.' This is, in our day, the one sole case in which the is not a Definite Article, but a Demonstrative. Mätzner quotes from Cadmon the sentence þæs snottor weorðe þæt, §c., and we still sometimes hear the poor say, 'he was that clever, that,' &c.; eo sapientiæ ventum est. Self follows the Definite Article, as we now use same; dôn væt selfe (Pastoral, 327). We still say 'the self-same.'

The Neuter Interrogative, what, refers sometimes to Masculine and Feminine Substantives, just as that does. The terse Gothic whas ist? (in Latin, quis est?) becomes the expanded English hwet ys he? (St. John xii. 25); hweet may go before a Plural, as hweet synd daping? 'what are these things?' (St. John vi. 9) This what sometimes takes a Genitive Singular after it, as hweet niwes? what news? Most men, I fancy, imagine this news to be a Plural. The Instrumental case of hweet had two forms, hwy and hû, still known to us as why and how.

The English which (hwa-lic, hwylc) is in truth our form of the kindred Latin qualis, though now most corrupted in its use; the earliest sense of all lasted down to 1400. King Alfred shows us that in his day the

¹ Mr. Hall, in *Modern English*, p. 48, comes down pretty sharply upon earlier blunderers in this matter; but he does not go higher than Wickliffe for his authority. So late as 1792, 'I was delighted with *your* sight' might be written; we should now say 'the sight of you.'

sense of quis was encroaching upon that of qualis; for he writes hwelc wunder? where we put what wonder? The like change took place in German some centuries later. In St. Luke x.22, hwylc is used for the Gothic whas, where Tyndale uses who. It was very early followed by a Partitive Genitive, as we say, which of them?

There was an old somhwyle (aliquis); in imitation of this were formed somewhat, somewhere, and many others, in later years.

There is sometimes a curious interlacing of constructions in our sentences; as, 'Whom will ye that I release unto you?' This comes down from early days. We see in St. Luke xiii. 18, hwam were ic pat hit bee gelic?

The omission of the Relative after a Substantive dates from before the Conquest. In the Chronicle for 907, we read her... gefor Ælfred, was on Bahum gerêfa. Hence our 'the man I saw.'

There has been a wonderful change since 1100 in the English construction of Relatives. These were of old commonly expressed by se, seô, pæt, according to the antecedent's gender, or by the indeclinable pe. We see in St. Matt. ii. 9 på wæs gefylled pæt gecweden wæs (id quod), whence comes our later take that thine is. The Latin quis est qui, &c.? becomes in English hwa is se &e?

The old indeclinable $sw\hat{a}$, our as, had also a Relative force; the hoary swa hwa swa (quicunque) means in truth that man who, such man as. We say 'as to this' (quod ad hoc spectat), and the poor still say 'a man as I saw.' We find suite man sue, 'such man as' (Kemble's Charters, I. 296). The English swa hweet swa (quod-cunque) was in Gothic patawhah pei (St. John xv. 7).

The Indefinite Article an (the Gothic ains, unus), might stand before Numerals, as, a hundred, an hund penega (St. Matt. xviii. 28); so also a few, ane fedwa worda; here the ane is plural, and means only. Our lower orders imitate this idiom and say, 'a many times.' Sum other (alius) has been replaced by an other. In St. John xvi. 16 is found an lytel, where we now say 'a little while.'

An is sometimes used standing by itself, like the Latin unus and the Gothic ains, as he sceolde him foryyfan denne, 'he should deliver to them one man' (St. Luke xxiii. 17). Horace has cerebrosus prosilit unus, where the unus stands for quidam. In this latter sense may be taken cwæp an his leorning-cnihta (St. Luke xi. 1). But this free use of an by itself was far more common in the North than in the South. In St. Matthew xix. 16. unus ait is translated in all the Northern Gospels by an cueo; this idiom rather jarred on English ears in the South, and is there replaced by an mann cweed. In St. John xviii. 39, the Gothic ainana becomes in Southern English anne man. I have been careful to explain this an (one), since there is a wrong notion abroad that our one (one asked him) comes from the French on; it is to Old English translators of the Latin unus that we should look for an explanation of this idiom. New English idioms nearly always first appeared in the North. The Gothic in ainamma dage is seen with us as anum dæge, it happened one day (St. Luke v. 17).

The oldest Latin had no Indefinite Article; una ancilla divit ad me, a phrase that St. Jerome had no objection to, smacks more of Manzoni than of Cicero,

and marks a wondrous change in the speech of educated Both the Gothic and English employ this Indefinite Article; in St. Matthew viii. 19, we find ains bokareis and an bôcere for what Tyndale afterwards called a scribe. One of the most marked tendencies of the oldest English, such as the Beowulf or Cadmon's Lay, is to leave out the Article. Hence our many pithy phrases like, 'Faint heart never won fair lady;' we have here a great advantage over the Germans. The Article might even be dropped before an adjective with no substantive following, as in St. Mark i. 7; strengra cymp æfter me; compare, handsome is that handsome does. An was used where we now say alone; as in the Pastoral, 227, læt ân öæt gefecht, 'let alone the fight.' Another idiom for this was lætap hi, 'let them alone' (St. Matthew xv. 14). In St. Luke ix. 38, we find mîn ânlîca sunu, my only son. We have our first glimpse of a common expression of ours in he hit tiohchode eall tô anum, he 'thought it all one' (Pastoral, 385).

Man was used indefinitely, where the Greeks would have written tis; and the loss of this man leaves a sad gap in our modern English. Readers of 'David Copperfield' will remember the collegian who uses the phrase a man for I; as 'a man is always hungry here;' 'a man might make himself very comfortable.'

Dickens, like Tyndale and Shakespeare, was fond of another heary old Teutonic idiom for his Indefinite Pronouns; thus, 'he spoke, as who should say.' This may be traced back fifteen hundred years; Ulphilas writes yabai whas, the Latin si quis (St. Matt. v. 39); we now

commonly say 'if any one.' This Indefinite who or man, as I showed before, comes into swa hwâ swa, our whoso.

We still keep the Neuter of this Indefinite Pronoun in our 'I tell you what;' in Latin, aliquid. 'To give somewhat,' is in Gothic, wha giban (St. John xiii. 29); the somewhat I have just written is as bad as writing aliquid quid. Any relic of old idioms, standing quite by itself, puzzles modern speakers; hence some insist on regarding the aforesaid what as if it must answer to the dependent quid, and say, 'I tell you what it is.' There is yet another old use of this word left; as in what with this, what with that. The word sum, our some, might stand for either quidam or aliquis; we now usually confine it to the latter sense. In St. Matt. xx. 20, aliquid is Englished by sum ping. The phrases 'some ten years,' such and such (man),' date from before the Conquest.

Few of us know what is the real construction in a phrase like 'they hate each other.' Here each is the Nominative singular, and other the Accusative singular; we see in Ælfric's Colloquy (Thorpe's 'Analecta,' 113), that prosit unusquisque alteri is translated by framige anra gehwylc opron.

Our first is a word of corrupt formation; in the Pastoral, 121, we see the old form he wille fyrmest been, the Gothic frumist. What of old was på forman twå, is in our day the first two, as Cooper writes; Sheridan wrote the two first. In the various versions of the Bible, we find primûm translated by årest; in Ælfric's Colloquy, which is rather late, this becomes fyrmest; 'seek ye first the kingdom of God.'

In St. Mark vi. 7, we see the distributive form of

Numerals; 'sending out the disciples twâm and twâm,' an idiom differing from the Gothic. The Latin secundus was Englished by ober; of this we keep the trace in 'every other man.'

The old translation of the Latin alter...alter, was by the kindred English over...over. But in the Pastoral Care, 49, we see the beginning of a new form; twa bebodu, an is vat...over vat. In the Legends of the Holy Rood, a further step is made, for the Article is prefixed; forlet pa ænne dæl...mid pan oprum dæle. In St. Matthew xviii. 12, we hear of the hundred sheep, and of their owner seeking vat an ve forwear, the one that is lost; in Latin, eam quæ. This as yet is a most unusual idiom, though it is found also in Ælfric.

In the same Gospel, xiii. 46, we see a curious idiom that is still alive; una pretiosa margarita is Englished by pæt ân deorwyre meregrot. Here ân represents something that stands alone by itself. We may still write 'the one (solus) supremely able man,' 'the one perfect song.' The epithets in these sentences seem to be almost superlatives; Dr. Morris, in his 'English Accidence,' p. 145, gives many instances from 1300 to 1600 of one the (mark the transposition) being prefixed to Superlatives, as, one the fairest. Scott, in his 'Life of Napoleon,' uses this idiom so late as 1827.

Sometimes the Cardinal and Ordinal are combined; as an and twentigôoan, 'one and twentieth.' The construction of our half differs from the Latin; in St. Mark vi. 23, we find healf min rice, 'half my kingdom;' an half swulung (Kemble's Charters, I. 310), would now be 'half a ploughland.' In the Chronicle for 894, we hear

of the army, that they were symle healfe at ham, 'half always at home.'

Many was followed by both Singular and Plural Substantives; as, many man; about 1200 we began to insert the indefinite article before man. There was a substantive mænigeo; which we still use, when we talk of a great many; in confused imitation of this, in some parts of the country, they speak of a good few. We always placed the enough after a noun; as, fierst genog, 'time enough' (Pastoral, p. 415).

Adverbs are often formed from Substantives, as in ealne weg (alway), used by King Alfred; ferdon onweg, 'fared away.' This class of words clings to life; thus the old ŏærrihte (continuo), survives in the American 'I'll do it right away.'

The points of the compass were used adverbially; thus in the Pastoral (p. 9), me his writerum sende suo and noro. So in the Blickling Homilies, 129, we read, see is west ponon (she is west thence); in p. 209, weron noro of ocem stane (were north of the stone). This idiom is most unlike the Latin.

We sometimes see two old forms of an Adverb, as upweard and upweardes; either form is still allowable. The es in the latter form was in the Thirteenth Century to be added to many other Adverbs. Unwæres (unawares) may be seen in the Chronicle of the year 1004.

How and why, as I said before, are but two forms of one old pronoun; the former asks as to the manner, the latter as to the cause, of a thing. But our how still sometimes borders on the why; as, 'how is it that ye did not believe?' Why is often used (Dr. Johnson always

began with Why, sir) where no reason is expected, as a kind of expletive; thus we see in St. John viii. 48, hwî ne cwede we wel pæt pu eart Samaritanisc?

The repetition of Adverbs in a sentence is very old; as, little and little; so is the combination of opposite adverbs, as, feor and neah, 'far and near.' King Alfred, in his Pastoral, p. 5, says, ic wundrade swide swide; this reminds us of the later French beaucoup, beaucoup. In the Pastoral, p. 389, we read of a feorr land (far land), a curious English idiom. In p. 3, we find an idiona still kept in our Bible; Alfred tells us that in his day English learning was clane objectlent (clean decayed). This sense of omnino is also attached to the French synonym; as Molière's c'est pure médisance. I have actually seen clean in this sense set down as mere slang by one of our would-be philologers; his Bible might have saved him from this blunder.

There was another phrase for omnino, to be seen in Sweet's 'Anglo-Saxon Reader,' p. 105; 'we have robbed God's house inne and ute;' we now talk of 'out and out.'

In our word nowadays we have the old Genitive of a Substantive used as an Adverb; the word was known of old as idages (hodie). The adverb needs (he must needs go) is another relic of this Genitive.

Many Adverbs are formed by adding *lîc* (now *ly*) to the root. The most curious instance of this form is the adjective *ungelîclîc* (unlikely), where *like* comes twice over. Others are formed by adding *ly* to a Participle, as *laughingly*

The adverb here generally refers to place, but sometimes (not often) to time. Thus the Chronicle names a year, and then adds 'here died the King.' This is the source of our hereupon, heretofore, &c.

We often omit the verb in sentences like 'I did it when a boy,' 'I climbed till out of breath.' This free play, in which English outdoes all other tongues, may be seen in the Chronicle for 901: 'he died four weeks ær Ælfred.' The rightful ær pam pe was very early replaced by ær (ere) before a Verb. But against took that after it, unlike our present usage, lédon lâc ongên patte Josep ineode (Genesis xliii. 25).

The Expletive pær, like the Indefinite hit, was commonly used by the English to begin a sentence, as pær was an cyning. This resembles nothing in German or Latin. Prepositions were often tacked on to this pær, as thereout, thereunto, thus forming Compound Adverbs.

Some think that yea is a more archaic form than yes; but gese and geâ are alike found in our oldest writers. There was also once a nese. As to negation, when a man says 'I didn't never say nothing to nobody,' this is a good old English idiom that lasted far beyond 1600. Hamlet says 'Be not too tame neither,' and good writers of our own time have had something of the kind. Much harm has been done to our speech by attempts to ape French and Latin idioms, especially about the time of the Reformation. For instance, we are now told that an English sentence ought never to end with a Preposition. This absurd rule is later than Addison's time, and is not sanctioned by our forefathers' usage. When

Cadmon asked for the Eucharist on his death-bed, he said Bera's me hwæpere husel to.1

Our word nay has probably never changed its sound, but it was of old written ne, as in our Lord's words, 'I say unto you, nay.' In St. Luke xiii. 3 there is another form, ne, seege ic, nâ. This last is not far from our no, which King Alfred used much as the Scotch do now; 'I am no fain to go.' In the History of Job (Thorpe's 'Analecta,' 36) we read ic sylf and nâ oper, showing the parentage of our no other. The phrases no less, no more, baptized or no, are very old, though we have substituted no for nâ.

The negative was expressed by ne coming before a Verb; but not long before the year 1000 we see this encroached upon by the Adverbial Accusative nāwiht (nihil). Mätzner quotes nose habbað and nāwiht gestincað, (Psalm cxxxiv. 17); also, wæs he nāwiht hefig, from St. Guthlac. This nāwiht in the Twelfth Century became noht, and was afterwards pared down to not. The latter form answers to the Latin non, while naught or nought answers to nihil; one of the many instances of one Old English word becoming two-pronged, as it were, in later times. In the Pastoral Care, 240, nauht (nihil) is turned into a substantive, öæt nauht wæs öurhtogen, 'the wickedness was perpetrated.' Hence came nahtnes, naughtiness, and other formations of the like kind.

Nan, like an, had a Plural, as in the Pastoral, 395: da de wif hæbben, sien da swelce hie nan hæbben, 'let those that have wives be as though they had none.'

¹ Thorpe's Analecta Anglo-Saxonica, 58.

Hence comes our 'Thou shalt have none other Gods but me.'

Bu was used just as we employ both in phrases like both he and I. We have lost certain other old forms for expressing this, such as ge; still, in our version of II. Corinthians vii. 11, yea but is used to English the Greek alla, repeated again and again.

Gélîce is now our likewise.

The Latin non solum appears in the oldest English as nå pæt ån. We now omit the word in the middle. In St. John xiii. 9 we see the change beginning; nå mine fêt åne, ac eac, &c.

Our same was never used except adverbially; thus wifmen feohtao, sua same sua wapned men, 'women fight the same as men;' that is, in the same way, (Thorpe's 'Analecta,' 45). The Latin idem was expressed, not by same, but by ylc; this lingers in Scotland, as in the phrase Redgauntlet of that Ilk. The Scottish ilka, from alc (quisque), should never be confused with the Scottish ilk from ylc (idem). Same (idem) began to come into vogue about the year 1200.

We find döer . . . oööe, 'either . . . or,' answering to the Latin aut . . . aut. In the like way naöor is followed by ne, 'neither this nor that.' In Numbers xiii. 20 hwæder is followed by oöde, 'whether . . . or,' but this was plainly a new idiom. The Latin seu appears as swa in English, as in Ælfric's Colloquy, swa hwæder pu sy, swa ceorl, swa kempa.

The old penden (dum) was being encroached upon by the Adverbial clause that has now quite driven it out. We see in the Pastoral, 331, 5a hwile 5e. Our now will translate not only nunc, but quoniam; pû mê ne forwyrne, nu ic com. The sense of time, however, still hangs about this quoniam.

It is curious that we find swâ lange swâ (the Gothic swa lagga wheila swe, St. Mark ii. 19), and many such expressions, but only sôna swâ: so Moore in his Canadian song says—

'Soon as the woods on shore look dim.'

We still employ though (the German doch) at the end of a sentence, in the sense of tamen, just as our fore-fathers did. The first germ of our for all that (tamen) may be seen in 'ge for pon ne gelyfdon Drihtne' (Deuteronomy i. 32).

We sometimes find sentences and poems begin abruptly with and, like Southey's 'And I was once like this.' This idiom is found before the Norman Conquest.

Our if answers not only to the Latin si, but to one sense of the Latin an. It might be followed by the Indicative, as 'Gif he synful is, pat ic nat (St. John ix. 25).

The English for quum was usually på or ponne; but before the Norman Conquest hwænne (the Latin quando) had begun to encroach upon the older forms; still these lingered on until the Fifteenth Century.

The old swa, or as, was also used for quum and dum. It is hard to say which of these Latin words should translate as, in a sentence like Fielding's, 'they arrived just as dinner was ready.' Our as oft as is found in Gothic, swa ufta swe (I. Cor. xi. 25).

The old opposition of so to so is still kept in 'so many men, so many minds.' This is a remnant of the old swâ micel swâ, swâ lange swâ, swâ feorr swâ.

Swa, like our modern form of it, as, was very early used for the Latin quoniam: 'thou shalt suffer, swa pu làòlice wrôhte.' It had also the sense of quamvis: 'swa he ne mæg gestælan, he hæfö peah,' &c. Hence our 'bad as he is, he still,' &c.

Swû also stood for quasi, and this is kept in our 'as it were.' It is coupled with forth, as in our common phrase, 'so forth.'

The old gelice was used before $sw\hat{a}$, as in our 'like as a father pitieth.'

Our though borders upon if: we know the Latin etiamsi. Mätzner quotes from Canute's Laws, he sylf sceolde, peah he lif hæfde. Our 'no wonder though,' &c., is equally old.

The English tongue cuts down its sentences as much as it can, and therefore often drops that, coming after a Verb; as 'I grant the man is sane.' This clipping was in vogue before the Conquest. Mätzner quotes sægde hi drŷas wæron; we wolden þu gesûwe.

That not after a Negative sometimes answers to without, as in Jerrold's 'We never met, that we did not fight.' Something like this is seen in the old 'hig föron pri dagas pæt hig nån wæter ne gemêtton' (Exodus xv. 22).

That is used after a Comparative, like the Latin quòd; so Bulwer has 'fears, not the less strong that they were vague.' This that was of old written the; as hit is pê wyrse pe sume habbað twâ. Equally early instances of in that and for that (quia) might be given. Tô pam pæt stood for our to the end that.

The old siððan (since) has always stood for postquam and quoniam alike.

We find of nu, 'until now.' This government of an Adverb by a Preposition, sparingly found in these early times, has had great development in later ages.

Prepositions were prefixed to the Teutonic verb; but they were often detached from it, even so early as the days of Ulfilas; our language has therefore in this respect fallen below the level of Greek and Latin. How much better are the old fordo and after than our new do for and let off! King Alfred writes (Pastoral, 101), Moyses eode inn and ut; englas stigon up and ofdune. In our own day, we have to say entrance and exit, since going in and going out, albeit Scriptural, would sound most cumbrous. In St. Matthew, xxv. 11, the foolish Virgins say, bet us in. The Gospels of 1000 have drifat ut, where the older Northumbrian version has the happier compound of earlier years. Both the Gothic and the English use 'he was out,' in St. Mark i. 45. The phrase bring forb in St. Matt. xii. 35, is by no means so neat as profert, the Latin to be translated. Our modern he uprose is surely better than the ârâs he upp of the year 1000. What in Gothic was afmait, became in the English of 1000 accorf of (carve off), as we see in St. Matthew v. 30. King Alfred writes (Pastoral, 171), ne tio hie mon of, 'let not man draw them off.' We now write both of and off. making the latter usually an adverb; this is one of the double forms so often seen in the New English. Of is now and then used for a verb; thus Alfred (Pastoral, 239) writes ne meeg he ôf, he cannot get off.1

¹ Shakespeare's Out, out, brief candle! is something like this; a Frenchman translated it, Sortez, sortez, courte chandelle! thus show-

Legends of the Holy Rood, 103, (Early English Text Society), we find, he dyde of his purpuran; this do off we afterwards contracted into doff, and do on (St. John xxi. 7), into don in the same way. The uncoupling of Prepositions adds to our store of expressions; thus to throw over and set up are different from to overthrow and upset.

The Preposition of is used instead of the old Genitive, to express material. Thus we find not only scennum scîran goldes, but also reâf of hærum (St. Matt. iii. 4). Compare Virgil's templum de marmore ponam. This of and this de have been the parents of a widespread offspring in modern times; but our Old English Genitive Singular is happily still alive, though we use it more in speaking than in writing. The twegen of eow (St. Matt. xviii. 19, Southern version), seems very modern, especially when contrasted with the Rushworth copy. The Partitive use of the of was becoming more frequent about 1000; what in Gothic was sumai pize bokarye became in the English of that year. sume of dam bócerum (some of the bookers, scribes), as we see in St. Mark ii. 6; celc of eow, is in St. Luke xiv. 33. This of follows the Singular as well as the Plural. 'ye are not of my sheep,' we have a still unchanged idiom. But we find even in the Gothic (St. John xii. 42) us paim reikam managai, 'many of the rich.' Coupling two prepositions like out of is a regular Teutonic idiom.

ing how a Preposition can be turned into a verb. We hear people say, 'I up and told him.'

¹ In don and doff our do still keeps the sense of the kindred Greek ti-the-mi, the Old English ge-do-m.

following phrases date from very early times; 'to heal of his wound,' 'eaten of worms,' 'to borrow of him,' 'do nothing of myself,' 'he was of Bethsaida,' 'he sprang of (off) the horse,' 'fear of thee.' English often put of where the Gothic has from.

In modern times, by has encroached upon of. King Alfred seems to use the former in the sense of instrumentality: bi him selfum œlc mon sceal gedenceun (Pastoral, 159), 'each should learn through his own case;' he hine genime be leornunge (Ibid. 169); bi dam onchawan 'To fall out by the way,' 'to have a (Ibid. 265). son by her,' 'less by one letter,' 'have it ready by Easter,' 'a hundred by weight,' 'word by word:' these phrases date from very early. In the phrase 'to do one's duty by a man,' we are reminded of the Gothic bi: this often stands where English would use ymbe (circum.). The English be recalls the Latin de. In the old Southern Gospels we find 'to live by bread,' and 'to die by the law' (secundum legem), a Gothic phrase. This by is not as yet prefixed to the person who is the agent. Another of the oldest uses of by is kept by our sailors, who say 'North by East.'

With has two meanings, seemingly contradictory, in Latin, cum and contra. We say, to walk with a friend, and to fight with a foe. It was used in both senses long before the Conquest. In the Rushworth Gospels we read, sepe nis mid mec wid me is (St. Matt. xii. 30). With has also the meaning of the Latin versus, 'towards.' King Alfred (Pastoral, 113) writes, emn wid odre menn, 'just towards other men.' Hence comes our 'I'll be even with you.' In later times with has encroached upon

for, by, and others of its brethren; it has moreover driven out the old mid, which expressed many of the old senses of with: some of these we still keep; such as, 'what will he do with it?' 'with that he departed,' 'filled with grace,' 'overgrown with wood,' 'weigh oath with oath,' 'with God it is possible,' 'hold up his head with the best;' in this last phrase with answers to the Latin inter.

Many of the oldest senses of for remain; such as, 'gave him wine for drink,' 'held him for king,' 'he came for bread,' 'grace for grace,' 'betrayed him for envy.' In this last, the English for reminds us of the kindred Latin per; in some of the other senses of for, the Latin pro appears. We read of sins 'for Gode and for worulde,' we should now say, 'as regards;' the phrase is the parent of our common 'as for this,' quod ad hoc spectat.

As to from, we find in the oldest English; 'to hide from me,' 'to rest from work,' 'far from me.' This last appears in the later 'he is from home.' In the old idiom, fram begeondan Jordanen, 'from beyond Jordan,' we see two prepositions coupled together.

We have a clear hint of the Scottish fornenst in forum ongean eow, (St. Matt. xxi. 2).

The old meaning of before, in 'they were righteous before God,' dates from the year 1000, or earlier.

The preposition after appears in 'made after His likeness;' this is the Latin secundum. There is also 'we sent after him,' 'we asked after him.'

Toward was very early severed, that the substantive might be inserted in the middle; our 'to Godward' is

well known. In the Chronicle for 1009 we find, 'to scipan weard.'

There is an old sense of under, which is common to the Scandinavian and High German, and which answers to the Latin inter viam. This is 'to get under way.'

The oldest senses of to are seen in phrases like, 'eat to your fill,' 'mouth to mouth,' 'to this day,' 'I doom to death,' 'to this end,' 'to my knowledge.' 'Cut to pieces,' is slightly altered from the old 'ceorfan to sticcon;' 'to my cost,' is foreshadowed by 'to miclum weorde.' The Dative after a Verb is sometimes replaced by to in Gothic as well as in English; moreover, we know St. Jerome's 'dixit ad me.' The phrase to night is found both in English and Gothic; our up to time, preserves a trace of the use of to as applied to matters of time.

The preposition æt, the Latin ad, is near of kin to the last-mentioned to. We find among our oldest phrases, 'to have at hand,' 'have at heart,' 'at midnight,' 'at home.' In the Chronicle for the year 1049, comes æt læstan (at least); in æt nextan, we have cut away the preposition, and now write next. We still say, 'run at him,' where hostile intent is meant; but we can no longer say, in the friendly sense of old days, 'I was in prison, and ye came at me.' At is a preposition which has been much encroached upon in later times.

The oldest meanings of on are seen in 'he took on him,' 'he is on fire,' 'to avenge on him,' 'to gain on them,' 'to feed on thoughts,' 'on either hand.' The

words on and in interchange in Old English; and even now either of them might stand in phrases like, 'on this wise,' 'trust on him,' 'grace was on him.' The imitation of the Latin in and the French en, in later times, brought in very forward; we can therefore no longer say, 'on sheep's clothing,' 'there is life on you,' 'long on body,' 'on idle' (in vain), 'took on hand,' 'cut on two.' As to the old 'thrice on year,' the on is now corrupted into a. Very unlike the Latin idiom is the English construction in St. John xi. 51; Caiaphas was out gear biscoop; a construction that we still keep. Two verses before, we find, on geare biscoop.

The old gehende, in Latin juxta, still survives, as handy; in St. John vi. 19 comes, he was gehende dam

scype.

We began very early to turn Prepositions into Adverbs. In the Pastoral, 395, is seen, **erryhte after rehte Paulus, 'Paul discoursed immediately afterwards.'

We now even turn Prepositions into Nouns, for we talk of a man's ups and downs; also into Verbal Nouns, as, an outing; also into Verbs, as, 'I downed him with this.'

On the other hand, it is curious to see an Adjective turned first into an Adverb, and then into a Preposition. Thus, sid means late; it then became sidda, meaning afterwards, since; last of all it is seen as a Preposition, taking an Accusative case; 'since that time.' The resources of Language are truly wonderful.

We follow very old usage when we put a Noun before its governing Preposition; as in, 'this plea I turn

from.' Sometimes the Relative is omitted, which should accompany the preposition, as, 'candles to eat by.' It is wrong to derive this omission of the Relative from the Scandinavian; King Alfred often has something like it; for instance, 'men took their swords Godes and an mid to wrecanne' (wherewith to avenge God's wrath), in the Pastoral, 381. Anything more unlike the Latin cannot be conceived; here is the true English terseness. Rather later, the Preposition was to be made the last word in the sentence.

Our sailors have kept alive bufftan (abaft) as a Preposition, though aft (aft) is with them only an Adverb. Bûtan and binnan (in Latin, extra et intra) still linger in the Scotch Lowlands; as in the old Perth ballad of Cromwell's time:—

When Oliver's men Cam but and ben.

Anent, which of old was on-efn, is preserved in the same district; and this most useful word seems to be coming into use among our best writers once more. But gelang (the Latin per) is now used only by the poor; as in 'it is all along of you.' We sometimes hear the old onforan as afore, and ongéan sounded as again, not the corrupt against. Tô is still used in America in one of its old senses, where we degenerate English should use at; we find in the Beowulf sécean tô Heorote, 'seek at Heorote.' The old Northumbrian til is employed in the North, where we say to.

I repeat a few other instances, where we still use Prepositions in the true Old English sense, though very sparingly. To do one's duty by a man; to receive at his hands; for all his prayers, i.e. in spite of; to go a hunting, which of old was written, gan on huntunge; eaten of worms (by is hardly ever used before the Conquest in this sense of agency); we have Abraham to our father; made after his likeness; to get them under arms. Our best writers ahould never let these old phrases die ont; we have already lost enough and too much of the good Old English.

As to Interjections, O was Gothic, but is not seen in English until the Twelfth Century, when a (ah) also first appeared. We find eow me in Psalm cxix. 5, which Mätzner quotes; ou is found about 1300. The place of the Gothic O was supplied by wâlâ, ealâ, and lâ. Christ thus addresses his mother (St. John ii. 4) lâ wîf. English school girls, I believe, still use this la. The ealâ was followed by pæt and gif, just as we now say O that and O if, when expressing a strong wish. $N\hat{u}$ is used for the Latin ecce, in St. Luke xiii. 35, and seems the parent of our 'now, what would you think?' Leof was em- . ployed where we say sir (St. John xx. 15), and sometimes appears as lû leof. Perhaps something of the old world lingers about our 'Dear Sir.' In Ælfric's Colloquy, etiam is translated by ge leóf; the latter word seems but an expletive. In the same piece we see the Latin O, O, translated by hig, hig; which explains why we shout hi, when wishing to stop any one; (Thorpe, 'Analecta,' 102, 103).

The English of old employed hweet (quid) as an Interjection. This is the first word of the Beowulf, and answers to our Ho. The old usage may be traced down

to our times, though it was thought to be somewhat overdone by King George the Third.1

Sometimes an English word has always borne two different meanings; thus from the earliest times, idle might be applied to either a man or a tale. But a word has now often lost one of the meanings it might bear of old: thus fen has always translated the Latin palus, and it might once also have translated the Latin lutum. the other hand, one word in New English often stands for what were two words in the older tongue. Thus our bow represents boga (arcus) and the Icelandic bogr (prora). as well as the verb bigan (flectere), the parent of the nouns. Our saw is used for both sagu (dictum) and saga (serra). Without reckoning rima (ora), the old hrim (gelu) and rim (numerus) have but one representative in New English; hence Pitt was able to punningly translate 'Aurora Musis amica' by 'a rimy morning.' share stands for both scear (vomer) and scearu (pars); and our cleave stands for both clifan (hærere) and clufan (findere): Strong Verbs both. The many meanings of the one word box are well known; it represents Old English, Latin, and Scandinavian words.

In accents clear.

Great Brunswick's voice still vibrate on my ear.

¹ In the Rolliad, the King meets Major Scott, and thus expresses himself:

Methinks I hear,

^{&#}x27;What, what, what!

^{&#}x27;Scott, Scott, Scott!

^{&#}x27;Hot, hot, hot!

^{&#}x27;What, what, what!'

It is the same with sound. In Burns's line, 'weary fa the waefu' woodie!' the first word has nothing to do with the English term for fessus; it is a corruption of the old werg (maledictio). A word has sometimes dropped, and has left such a gap that popular instinct coins a new word, as it were, on the old lines. Thus, upahefednes is seen revived in our uppishness; gifol is gone, but in some parts of the country givish is used to express open-handed. Sylf-lic died out, and was replaced after many centuries by the selfish of the Puritans. Mr. Murray has lately revived a fine Old English word in hand-book. We parted with ônlic; we have, therefore, after a long interval, been driven to borrow unique from France.

In some cases Verbs have become oddly corrupted, and the corruptions have, so to speak, run into each Thus we have now but one verb, own, to represent both the old ahnian (possidere) and the old unnan (concedere). The modern leave is used both for lefan (permittere) and lifan (relinquere). Thus too we have only settle to stand for both setlan and sahtlian. slovenliness is seen elsewhere; in French, louer has to do duty for both laudare and locare. We now talk of - 'healing a wound,' and of 'a wound healing;' the old verbs were hælan and halian. The Dorsetshire peasantry, as Mr. Barnes tells us, have an advantage over us; for they pronounce in the true Old English way words that in polite speech have but one sound; thus they say heale for sanus, and hail for grando. We have made a sad mistake in confounding the once distinct

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ So the old $\it quivis$ was lost in Italy, and was replaced by the later $\it qualsivoglia$.

sounds of these words; hence blunders sometimes arise.¹ Thanks to our slovenly forefathers, English is now the punster's Paradise: Hood knew this well.

We have not often kept the sound of the old vowel at the end of a word so faithfully as in worthy, smithy, the former weer'se, smitoe.

Sometimes one Old English word gives birth to two different modern verbs; thus the old bellan has yielded us both to bellow and to bell, the one used of bulls, the other of deer. Scott tells us that he was glad to adorn his poetry with the latter form of the verb. Something of the same kind has happened with toil and till, both coming from the old tylian.

In the English of our day are many words that are reckoned slangy, but which have a good old pedigree. Such a one is tout, a word well known to racing men; but we find King Alfred writing ŏa heafudu totodon ût, the heads projected, peeped out, (Pastoral, 105). To lark comes from the old lâcan (ludere); this verb North of the Trent is pronounced layke, coming from the kindred Icelandic leika. An actor is there called a laker. To hoax comes from the old huse, a slight. Newcastle men have been known to puzzle a stranger by saying that they have eaten a brick; this is but the old brice (fragmentum). The verb dyderian (decipere)

¹ I remember at school, about the year 1843, that our class was given Scott's lines:

^{&#}x27;Hail to thy cold and clouded beam,' &c.,

which we were to turn into Latin longs and shorts. I still recall the disgust of the master (vir plagosus) on reading one blockhead's attempt; it began with grando!

has sunk very low, since diddle cannot be used by any grave writer; the r has changed into l, just as hridrian has become riddle. The old slop, an over garment, is the parent of our common slops. Mrs. Barkis, in Dickens, allows that her husband is a little near (parcus); this is the old hnear, with the first letter clipped. Readers of 'Tom Brown's School-days' will remember the Slogger; his name must have come from slôgon, the Plural Perfect of sleán (ferire). There was a good old English verb, sparran (claudere); this has had t attached of late years, to round it off (ar, 'tu es,' became art) in the usual English way, and it is now seen in the College phrase 'to sport my oak,' or keep my door barred.1 To pink a man is not an elegant phrase now; but in the Pastoral, p. 296, pyngan (borrowed from the Latin pungere) is used of Abner when slaying Asahel. The verbal noun pungetung is derived from this verb; hence comes our punching. 'He's a fell clever lad' comes in one of Lady Nairne's ballads; the adverb is one form of the old fæl (verus). Such phrases as, 'a heap of people, 'swingeing damages,' 'to egg on,' 'unbeknown,' may all lay claim to the best of English pedigrees. Our lower orders much enjoy a dish known to them as 'pig's innerds;' this is the old innewearde, (viscera). Locke, in 1678, wrote of the inwards of a beast; see his Life, by Fox Bourne, I. 402. small seems slangy; it may be found in King Alfred's Pastoral, p. 461. 'To spirit up a man to act' is not

¹ An antiquary, capable of seeing very far into a milestone, might derive the verb *spoon*, so well known to our young men and maidens, from the old *spanan*, with its Perfect *spôn*, to allure.

reckoned a classical phrase, though at first sight it seems to come from the Latin; it is in truth a disguised form of the old to-spryttan (excitare); spurt and sprout come from the same root. In the Pastoral, 249, we read habban to gamene (hold in mockery); we here see the source of our scornful cry, gammon! Our swindle may come from swindan, to vanish. 'Here is a wrinkle for you' must come from the obsolete wrence (dolus).

Our Old English words are often sadly degraded. No writer could now use mannish, sneak, shove, or smirk in a dignified sense; but these had no debasing meaning of old: snican is used of 'creeping things.' Our nup (dormire) might be used in the loftiest of senses, as in the Northumbrian Psalter, I. p. 142. We have, in our wheedle, rather changed the sense of the old weedlian, 'to beg;' and the old gilpan (gloriari) has come down to yelp. Fus was an adjective that might have been applied to Alfred or Athelstane; our fussy seldom rises now above an old woman. Stink, like the Latin odor, had a good as well as an evil meaning. Puer might be translated by either cuiht or cnófa; the former English word rosemuch higher in the world about 1050, the latter sank very low about 1360.

There are many words which we have not wholly lost, but which we now use in a most restricted sense. The old wyrt (herba), so common of old, is now seen only in St. John's wort, and a few other such plants. Hrif (uterus) survives in midriff; hyo (ora) in proper names like Rotherhithe. The said names are most useful in keeping alive old English words; thus cine (scissura) survives in the many chines of the Isle of Wight; in

Black Gang Chine, two words out of the three have dropped out of the common speech of Southern England. Northfleet and Southfleet remind us of the old fleot (statio navium), which at Bristol is still called the Float. The hills round Buxton are a fine preserve of the old names used by different races, the Tor, the Law, the Knoll; Deepden keeps up the old English den or valley; Holbourn reminds us that burn (brook) once prevailed in the South as well as in the North; Port Meadow at Oxford speaks of the Roman port, used by our pagan forefathers as a name for a town; indeed, port and upland stood for town and country. The Gut, a mile or two off, reminds us of the old geotan (fundere). Tadcaster is, in its last two syllables, a good imitation of the Roman castra, known elsewhere as caistor and chester. reminds us that twy once stood for duo. Proper names keep alive the names of trades (such as Walker, Baxter, Bowyer, Lister, and Arrowsmith,) that have died out or are called by new terms. Perhaps an old relic, found in one or two towns, preserves an old word that has long been dropped elsewhere; we cannot say that our Teutonic name for peace is altogether dead, so long as the Frith The old attercop stool stands in Hexham Church. (aranea) has its last syllable alone left, as we see in cobweb; copp (apex) remains in coping stone, and Hay Cop is a hill near Buxton. If we had kept efesian (tondere), we should now use eaves in the true old way, as a Singular, not a Plural. We have lost the old verb wisnian, but we keep its Past Participle, wizened. Our glendrian (to swallow) has left a relic of itself in glanders. old crumb (curvus) survives in Crummie, the name often given to a cow in Scotland. The verb werian was a great loss; the substantive weir remains, which I have heard pronounced as riming both to bare and beer: we should make a point of pronouncing it in the former way: its sound must not be corrupted like that of either. Trymman (confirmare) is seen in its old uncorrupt sense in 'trim the boat:' it exists in other phrases with a rather different meaning. To weigh anchor preserves a recollection of the kindred vehere. The substantive trendel (orbis) is gone, but we still trundle a hoop, and a line trends towards an object. Though we hear of pig-sticking in India, still we cannot now use stick freely in the sense of pierce, as our forefathers did. We talk of a fretted ceiling; the old freetwian (ornare) might have been used in a much wider sense. The banns given out in Church still remind us of the old geban (proclamatio). We sometimes hear 'I'll learn (docebo) you this;' the verb represents the old leeran, which has got confounded with leornian. We have sometimes thought that we could improve our forefathers' speech by yoking two of their synonyms together; when we say sledgehammer, it is like a Latinist writing malleus twice over. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that main strength was always reckoned good English. The old wae was both a substantive and an adjective; both are kept in Scotland, wae 's me, and I'm wae for the man.

The gradual decay of old words is most mournful; their meanings seem to become more and more restricted. How narrow a sense has sake (causa) in our day, compared to what was its old power! Loom once stood for any household utensils; it is now restricted to the

weaver's trade: we also talk of heir-looms. The word thing, in its sense of causa, remains in our phrases, 'I would not for any thing,' 'but for one thing.' The phrase, 'to hear the rights of it,' remains to show that riht would of old English veritas. The tale told by Milton's shepherds may bear two senses, as we know. The old wright (faber), still common in Scotland, has died out in England, except in the compounds wheelwright, ship-wright, and such like. The old sibb (affinis) survives only in gos-sip.

It is curious to see more than one meaning given to an English word, and to know that these meanings run very far back. Thus weather had a second sense, that of procella; this is kept alive by the saying, 'fear neither wind nor weather.' Thus also man has always borne something like the sense of servus, as well as that of homo; it implies inferiority; an officer or a farmer speaks of his men. The old weore meant dolor as well as opus; the former sense remains in, 'I had sad work with him.'

When we speak of a fish-wife, we bear witness to the fact that wife has always meant mulier, as well as uxor. The different meanings of one verb date very far back; habban means trahere as well as habere (Sweet's 'Anglo-Saxon Reader,' p. 63); seeotan (shoot) still means both torquere and ruere, and of old it had a third meaning, solvere. It is curious that lietan (let) should have always had the contradictory meanings of sinere and obstare. We may now both drive a trade, and drive cattle; either sense dates from early times. We have good sanction both for sticking pigs, and for sticking to a friend. Find has always had the sense both of invenire and

providere; 'you must find yourself.' The adverb feeste has from the first had two meanings; a Frenchman once complained that in England a horse was said to be fast when galloping, and also fast when tied to a gate.

Our speech is now but a wreck of what it was. Thus barn, the old ber-ern, alone remains of the many substantives that had ern (locus) tacked on to them. Of all the verbs that bore the prefix cet, only one is left. retaining that preposition sadly mangled; this is activitan, our twit: its three last letters still linger in Scotland, in the shape of wyte (culpa). Answer alone remains to show us our old and, the Greek anti: anew preserves a trace of the clipped ed in ednive. this lost prefix having commonly given way before the foreign re. Onlihtun has imitated the French by taking the shape of enlighten; asteallan has become our install; but the old a has been too often cast off altogether. Sometimes there has been a confusion between two old prepositions; thus, the last syllable of tôgénes has been tacked on to ongegn, and thus againes, against, has been formed. We have no longer the substantive stow (locus), except in proper names, though we keep the verb stow (locare). Many niceties of inflection have been lost: the Perfect of drink had of old drane for its Singular, and druncon for its Plural; the like may be remarked in sing, and many other verbs. Our sorest loss is in our power of compounding; how few know that 'wilderness' is nothingbut wild-deor-ness, the place of wild beasts. We still

¹ We have also clipped the a in the French avant-ward, and made it vanguard. Our Northern writers tried to clip apostle and epistle in the same way, following their Scandinavian forefathers.

keep manhood, but we have lost manship, and have therefore recourse to the Latin for humanity.

However we must remember that our present tongue has compensating advantages. Old English prose, it must be allowed, was rather cumbrous in its construction, the weightiest word, as in Latin and German, often coming at the end. If ever English were to become the leading tongue of the world, this peculiarity would have to be cast aside. The peasants of the North-Eastern shires, in their daily talk, followed the far simpler Scandinavian construction; if any chance were to bring their speech into vogue, on the ruins of the old classic English, the new dialect would be sure to add flexibility to the former pith and strength; this is the heritage of all English speakers who are not false to their national traditions.

There is also a tinge of poetry in our prose. Let us hope that we shall never leave writing sentences, so finely varied in construction as, 'spoke the maid,' 'holy is he,' 'gold have I none,' 'well have you done,' 'this done, he left,' 'with this I complied,' 'never spake man,' 'of noble race she came,' 'die you shall,' 'firm as steel, as marble hard,' 'lady mine,' 'come one, come all,' 'his daughters three,' 'a grey old wolf and a lean,' 'who answers dies,' 'it is gone, that sensibility

¹ How expressive are the three words, 'First, London, Return.' If these were to be turned into classic English, they would be expanded into something like this: 'Will you give me a ticket that will entitle me to go to London and return thence by a railway carriage of the first class?' Our speech, as spoken in common life, is wonderfully terse and pithy; your average Englishman will never waste his breath more than he can help. His tongue is well fitted to be the language of the world in future years.

of principles.' The writings of the great man, from whom I have taken the last phrase quoted, are a standing lesson to his brethren the prose writers; we must steadily tread in the steps of the poets, at least so far as right reason will allow; we must never let our written tongue reach the dead commonplace level to which underbred vulgarity would fain drag us down. As it is, our English speech of 1877 rises far above the French in varied construction of sentences, and far above the German in flexible ease.

There was one favourite art of our forefathers, which we have not yet altogether lost, prone though we have been to copy French rimes. This art was Alliterative poetry, as seen in Cadmon's lines on the Deluge:—

For mid Fearme Fære ne moston Wæg liðendum Wætres brogan Hæste Hrinon ac hie Halig god Ferede and nerede. Fiftena stod Deop ofer Dunum sæ Drence flod.²

Conybeare traces this love of Alliteration in English

¹ Lord Macaulay wrote in his History about cavalry pricking over the plain. This fine old Spenserian verb was objected to by Mr. Croker, in the famous suicidal review of the History; the difference between the well-read scholar and the tasteless pedant could not be more happily marked. Mr. Froude uses many fine old phrases, at which the Frenchified Gibbon would have shuddered. The scholar improves our tongue, just as the penny-a-liner debases it.

² Conybeare's Anglo-Saxon Poetry, xxxiii.

poets down to 1550, and Earle traces it on further to 1830. Byron's noble line on the Brunswicker's death at Quatre Bras is well known. I can bear witness, from my own schoolboy recollections, to the popularity of this old metre in 1849. This it is that has kept alive phrases like 'weal and woe,' 'born and bred,' 'sooth to say,' 'fair or foul,' 'kith and kin,' 'bed and board,' 'make or mar,' 'might and main,' 'hang high as Haman,' 'forget and forgive,' 'fish, flesh, and fowl,' 'meddle and muddle.' The Tory majority in 1874 was said to be due to 'Beer and Bible.' Wolsey was assailed as follows:—

'Begot by butchers, but by bishops bred, How high his Honour holds his haughty head.'

Sydney Smith compared the curate of his day to Lazarus, 'doctored by dogs and comforted with crumbs.'

This Alliteration was the soul of the earliest English poetry. Poets and Priests are the two classes of men that have most influence in keeping a language tolerably well fixed; with rare exceptions, they look back with loving eye to what is old. It is truly wonderful that the Gothic and English (without a written literature, so far as we know), should have kept their intricate inflexions fairly well preserved for so many thousand years after leaving the old Aryan cradle. It was their poets and priests, no doubt, that prevented these tongues from sinking into a confused jargon. English poetry has always held to old forms, that have been long dropped

' We were fond of an old ballad, beginning with—
'All round the rugged rocks
The ragged rascal ran.'

in common life; of this, Spenser and Thomson are the The 'Erectheus' of Mr. Swinburne, best examples. and the 'Sigurd' of Mr. Morris, show us the way in which we should go. Religion, in this noble race, has run abreast of Poetry. Christian ministers took up the old conservative tradition where the Pagan priests dropped it. All over the world the same effect may be The Bible, translated into hundreds of tongues, has from first to last had a most conservative influence upon the languages spoken by mankind; it has done its best to fix them, if we may apply the verb fix to so fleeting a thing as language; religion and philology go hand in hand. Bede and Aldhelm, Wickliffe and Tyndale, alike bear witness to this truth; may the English pulpit ever cling fast to her old traditions! It was the Anglican clergy that taught Dryden how to write English, as the poet himself acknowledges. Lord Macaulay, after a philological argument with Lady Holland, laughs at the idea of anyone, who has not the English Bible at his finger-ends, setting up as a critic of English. It was no mere chance that made one of our present Archbishops a foremost leader in reviving the long-neglected claims of our glorious Mother-tongue.1 Bishop Patteson, a new Hervas, was as renowned for his philological studies as for his missionary achievements.

¹ Dr. Trench is a good Teuton, and is therefore heartily abused by professors of fine writing. One of them, who writes about sequacious diathesis, reviles the Archbishop as a contortionist and a fantast. I have seen it affirmed that our language is healthily developing itself, when every penny-a-liner scatters broadcast his bad grammar and newfangled French phrases, without giving one thought to the writings of Defoe, Swift, and Fielding!

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

TABLE OF INTERCHANGES OF CONSONANTS.

ANY one who compares the kindred Sanscrit and English words, given at pages 3 and 4, will see a close connection, according to Grimm's Law, between the following sounds:—

Sanscrit.	English.	Sanscrit.	English.
bh	b	t	$^{ m th}$
q	f	gh	g
đh	d	g (j)	c, k
đ	t	k	h

It is needless to insist on the fact that the lip-sounds, b, p, f(r), are closely linked together. This also holds true of the tooth-sounds, d, t, th; and of the throat-sounds, g, c(h), h.

But it is easy to see that one of these three different groups of sounds will often get confused with another group. When we hear a child say 'I tan do' for 'I can go,' we see at once that there is a link between t and c, d and g; the child observes Grimm's Law with never failing exactness; moreover, he shows the connection between the Latin cumulus and tumulus. What we call ruff (rough) is sounded in some parts of Scotland like rokh, from the back of the throat; here we see a further link between k and f. Our verb duck must come from the old dyppan. Thus the throat-sounds touch the lip-sounds on the one hand, the toothsounds on the other. There is also a direct connection between the tooth-sounds and the lip-sounds, for Theodore becomes Feodor in Russian. These facts explain the different forms of the English words given at page 31. In the Greek dialects pisures and tetores may be compared (as to their first letters) with the Irish ceathair, all three words having the same meaning, that of our English (fethower) four. The like may be seen

¹ Pope Pius IX. uses the form *servare* (keep) in a Bull; but when he speaks to a servant, he calls it *serbare*.

in the last consonants of pente, kinke (quinque), pump (Welsh), answering to our English five. So slip, slide, and slick.

The liquids l, n, and r, are always running into each other. What Virgil called Anagnia, Dante writes Alagni. Bononia has become Bologna, and Panormus is now Palermo. Dyderian has got corrupted into diddle (see page 75), and altare into autel. The Latin homines in Spain became homres, and then hombres; diaconus in French became diacre; the Gothic fon is our fire.

The liquid m has a tendency to get confused with n, as mappa, nappe; dama, daine; semita, sente; rem, rien. The old amete has given birth to ant.

There is also a close tie between m and b (see page 15). The High German b answers to the English f (lieber to liefer) in the middle of a word; hence our heofen (heaven) must once in German have been heben or hibel; it is now himmel. So sabbati dies has become samedi.

L and d interchange; the Greek dakru is the Latin lacruma, and the Greek deka is the Lithuanian lika; dingua is the older form of lingua.

There is a connection between r and s, as in the Latin honos and honor, or the cries huzzah and hurrah; the Sanscrit asmi must have once been armi in English mouths, as we see by the Second Person, thou art; the Primitive Aryan asanti became aranti, in English our are (sunt). The words was (eram) and were (erant) belong to one and the same tense.

There is a connection between s and t; th, that peculiarly English sound, seems to stand half way between them. When a Frenchman pronounces our word thing, he will sometimes call it ting, sometimes sing. The Southern English walwiath is akin alike to the Latin volvit and to the Northern English walwias (he wallows). We know the Greek forms tasso and tatto. The Low German t becomes s or z in High German; thus our primitive to, toll, token, become at Dresden zu, zoll, zeichen.

The c or k, on the Continent, slid into ch before the year 900; chief for caput is found in the Song of St. Eulalie, and the Latin Kikero is now pronounced in Italy Chichero. Sometimes the ch, both in English and French, went on further

and became j: as capella becomes javelle, and the verb ceowan becomes jaw. So the Sanscrit j has replaced a far older

Arvan q.

In the Teutonic tongues g was early softened into y; our gear (annus) began with y in Gothic. In the Twelfth Century the English g very often became w, though this is traceable much earlier; the Sanscrit gharma is the English warm; the Celtic gosper is the Latin vesper, pronounced something like wesper.

There is a close connection between v and w; see the Sanscrit words at pages 3 and 4. The Latin v, as in volvo, must have been pronounced very like our English w; and it is the same with the Scandinavian v. Our hvet (quid) has become in vulgar London speech vot, and this is sometimes heard as vot. The most refined Germans have done something like this last with their grand old w.

I have here given but few instances of the curious interchange of consonants; any one that reads Bopp's 'Comparative Grammar' with due heed may find therein scores of other examples in the different Aryan tongues, and may work out the subject for himself. M. Brachet's French Grammar supplies many examples.

¹ In Chapter I. it will be remarked that I have not always accented the Old English. In this respect I simply follow the author I am copying.

NORTHERN ENGLISH, 680-1000. EARLY CORRUPTIONS, 1000-1120.

THE examples given in the last Chapter have been mostly taken from Wessex writers; but Cadmon's Alliterative lines on the Deluge remind us that in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries there was no Teutonic land that could match Northumbria in learning or Thither had come earnest missionaries civilisation. from Italy and Ireland. There Christianity had taken fast root, and had bred such men as Cadmon and Bede. Charlemagne himself, the foremost of all Teutons, was glad to welcome to his court Alcuin, who came from beyond the Humber. It was the dialect of Northumbria, settled as that land was by Angles, that first sprang into notice, and was so much in favour, that even the West Saxons on the Thames called their speech English; a fact never to be forgotten by students of our Mothertongue.

This English of the North, or Northumbrian, has bequeathed to us but few monuments, owing to the ravages of the Danes in the Northern libraries. We have, however, enough of it left to see that in some points it kept far closer to the old Aryan Mother Speech

than the classical writers of Wessex did; thus, it boasts the remnants of five verbs in mi-am, beôm (sum), geseôm (video), fleôm (fugio), gedôm (facio). But in other points it foreshadows the language to be spoken in Queen Victoria's day more clearly than these same writers of Wessex did.

In tracing the history of Standard English, it is mainly on Northumbria that we must keep our eyes. About the year 680, a stone cross was set up at Ruthwell, not far from Dumfries; and the Runes graven upon it enshrine an English poem written by no mean hand. Cadmon, the great Northumbrian bard, had compiled a noble lay on the Crucifixion, a lay which may still be read at full length in its Southern English dress of the Tenth Century. Forty lines or so of the earlier poem of the Seventh Century were engraven upon the Ruthwell Cross; some of these I give in my Appendix, as the lay is the earliest English that we possess just as it was written. It has old forms of English nowhere else found; and it clearly appeals to the feelings of a warlike race, hardly yet out of the bonds of heathenism; the old tales of Balder are applied to Christ, who is called 'the young hero.'

Mr. Kemble in 1840 translated the Ruthwell Runes, which up to that time had never unlocked their secret; not long afterwards he had the delight of seeing them in their later Southern dress, on their being published

^{1 &#}x27;Cadmon mee fauæbo' (not Cædmon) is the inscription lately discovered on the cross; and this confirms a guess made long ago by Mr. Haigh. Mr. Stephens assigns the noble fragment of the Judith to the great bard of the North.

from an old English skinbook at Vercelli. He found that he had only three letters of his translation to correct. Seldom has there been such a hit and such a confirmation of a hit.¹

These Ruthwell Runes are in close agreement with the dying words of Bede, the few English lines embedded in the Latin text. In the Runes, the letter k is found, which did not appear in Southern English until two centuries later. The word ungcet, the Dual Accusative, betokens the hoariest eld. The Infinitive ends not in the Southern an, but in a, like the old Norse and Friesic. The n, with which the Plural of the Southern Imperfect ended, has been clipped. There is a curious softening of the guttural h in almihtiga (almighty); the word is here written almeyottig.

The speech of the men who conquered Northumbria in the Sixth Century must have been influenced by their Danish neighbours of the mainland. I give a few words from the Ruthwell Cross, compared with King Alfred's Southern English:—

Southern.	Ruthwell.
Heofenas	Heafunæs
Stigan	Stiga
Gewundod	Giwundæd
Eal	Al^3
On gealgan	On galgu ·

Archæologia for 1843, p. 31.

² I can give a much earlier instance of the softening of the guttural. *Kudurlagamar* was a famous Assyrian name, (Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 223). We know that it afterwards appears as *Chedorlaomer*.

³ We follow the North, which is more primitive than the South,

The English *dider* (thither) answered to the Latin *illuc*; but here we find this word translated by *der*. So general has this corruption become, that to say, 'whither are you going?' would now be thought pedantic. *Hwær* replaces *hwider* in the Blickling Homilies, which seems to be another Northern work.

The next specimen given by me in my Appendix, is about sixty years later than the Ruthwell Runes. It is another fragment of Cadmon's, which was modernized two hundred years after his time by King Alfred. But the text from which I quote is referred by Wanley, a good judge, to the year A.D. 737. I set down here those words which are nearer to the language spoken in our days than Alfred's version is—

Southern.	Nor thern.	Modern
Fæder	\mathbf{Fadur}	Father
Swa	Sue	So
Gescéop	Scop	Shaped
Bearnum	Barnum	Bairns
þа	\mathbf{Tha}	\mathbf{The}
$\widetilde{ ext{Weard}}$	$\mathbf{U}\mathbf{ard}$	Ward

The word 'til' (to), unknown in Southern speech, is found in this old manuscript, and is translated 'to' by Alfred. The modern Th here first appears for the good old character that our unwisdom has allowed to drop. The whole of the manuscript is in Northern English, such as it was spoken before the Danes overran the land.

in pronouncing this word. But in Dorset they still sound the e before a, as in yacre, yale, yarm, and others. See Mr. Barnes' Poems.

¹ Bosworth, Origin of the Germanic Languages, pp. 56-60.

One great mark of the North is, that α appears as e, pronounced like the French \hat{e} ; the English $br\hat{a}d$ (latus) was in Gothic braid.

The next earliest Northumbrian monument that we have is a Psalter, which may date from about the year A.D. 850. It is thought to have been translated in one of the shires just south of the Humber.1 This Psalter, like the former specimen, employs a instead of the Southern ea, even as we ourselves do. There are many other respects in which the Psalter differs from later English; the chief is, that the first Person Singular of the verb ends, like the Latin, in o or u: as sitto, I sit; ondredu, I fear. The Second Person ends in s, not st; as neosas, thou visitest; less corrupt than King Alfred's The Lowland Scotch to this day say, thou knows. The prefix ge in Past Participles is often dropped, as bledsad, blessed, instead of gebletsod. Old Anglian was nearer than any other Low German speech to Danish, and ge is not found in the Danish Participle. The old h, coming before a liquid, is sometimes cast out; roed (rough) replaces the Southern hrede. We also remark the Norse earun for sumus, estis, sunt; this in Southern speech is nearly always syndon.2 I give a few words from this Psalter, to show that our modern English in many things follows the Northern rather than the Southern form.3

¹ Rushworth Gospels, iv. (Surtees Society), Prolegomena, cix.

² We find, however, aran in Kentish Charters (Kemble, I. 234), and the form ic biddo in the oldest Charters of Kent and Worcestershire.

³ See an extract from the Psalter in my Appendix.

Southern English.	Northern English.	Modern.
Bën	${f Boen}$	Boon (prayer)
Béc	Boec	Books
Célan	Coelan	Cool
Déman	Doeman	$Doom^1$
${f Leoht}$	${f L}{ m eht}$	${f Light}$
\mathbf{Fram}	From	From
Wæron	Werun	Were
Nawiht	Nowihte	${f Nought^1}$
Feldas	\mathbf{Feldes}	\mathbf{Fields}
Twa	Tu	Two
Syndrig	Syndrie	Sundry
Margen	Marne	${f Morn}$
Eage	$_{ m Ege}$	$\mathbf{E}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{e}$
Sealt ·	Salt	Salt
${f Hebbe}$	\mathbf{Hefe}	\mathbf{Heave}
\mathbf{Hefig}	Hefie	\mathbf{Heavy}
Arison	Ariosun	Arose
Slepon	$\mathbf{Slypton}$	Slept
Swa hwylce sv	va Swe hwet	Whatso
Dêst	G_{edoest}	Doest
Fêt	\mathbf{F} oede \mathfrak{F}	${f Feedeth}$
He yt	He iteð	\mathbf{He} eateth
Tyn	${f Ten}$	\mathbf{Ten}
Treow	${f Tre}$	${f Tree}$
Getimbrod	$\mathbf{Timbred}$	${f Timbered}$

As to this Psalter, we may repeat a former remark, that the sound of English vowels in the North was very different from what was usual in the South. We see here cweee, ferian, our quake, fare, which on the Thames were written cwace, faran. Frio and hwiol are written for the Southern free and hweel, our free and wheel. We

¹ We still have both the Northern and Southern forms of this word.

must pronounce all these old vowels as the French would now. Our modern pronunciation has mainly come from the North; and this becomes very clear about the year 1290. Still, while pronouncing in the Northern way, we have often kept the old Southern spelling of words; and this has caused our pronunciation of vowels to be so different from that used by other nations.

The writer who Englished the Latin words, one by one, in this Psalter, must needs have been struck by the close tie between the two tongues, more especially in the following words, which are but a small sample of what might be given:—

Latin.	English.	Latin.	English.
Sedet	Siteð	Simul	Somud
Regit	$\operatorname{Rece} olimits$	Semper	Symble
Tegit	D eceð	Duo	$\mathbf{T}\mathbf{u}$
Genuit	\mathbf{C} ende	Vir	\mathbf{Wer}
Pisces	Fiscas ¹	Vidua	Widwa ²

So the Goths were able to put whas is pu for the Latin quis es tu.

Sometimes the North of England kept far nearer to Aryan purity than did the South; thus feodur (in Gothic, fidwor) is found in this Psalter for the primitive Aryan katvar, instead of the usual feower, our four. On

 $^{^{1}}$ Since 1000 England and Italy alike have changed the sound of sc into sh.

² It is very possible that the English scribe might think that his own commonest words were *derived* from the Latin; I know that for many years of my life I thought that our *long* came from *longus*. Let us hope that a better system of education obtains now throughout our land; perhaps in years to come our dictionary makers will cease to *derive* our 'he is man' from Anglo-Saxon 'he is man.'

the other hand, corruption was plainly at work in the North. The Plural Perfect of the verb wyrce was, in the South wrohton, our wrought; but this, in the Psalter, II. p. 183, is turned into wyrctun. The encroachment upon the Perfects of verbs has been going on ever since; the Weak slypton, as marked above, has replaced the Strong slepon. Within the last few years, I see that some writers, who should know better, put mowed and sowed instead of mown and sown.

The Scotch are well known for their love of vowels and dislike of consonants; with them all wool becomes a oo, and in this Psalter, I. p. 126, we find amplius translated by mee, not by the Southern $m\acute{a}r$: mo is seen in the Sermons of Lever, a Northern man, and is still used by our poets for more.

In I. p. 68, we see the Neuter δis (hoc) employed for other Genders, just as we use it now; δes was of old the Masculine, and δeos the Feminine. This is an early instance of a Northern corruption.

In the Psalter, II. page 144, descendero is Englished by dune stigu; this first word was elsewhere written ofdune, our adown, which the poets still keep alive. Clipping and paring usually began in the North.

There is now no commoner English word than bread; I think it first appears in the phrase bio-bread, for honeycomb, in the Psalter, I. p. 52. Panis was Englished by hlaf in the South down to the year 1100.

We here see both *cnol* and *hnol* for what we call a *knoll*; the *h* before *l*, *n*, or *r*, is always struck out (the process was now beginning), while the *c* or *k* similarly placed, is allowed to remain at the beginning of modern

English words. Both c and h had a guttural sound, but this was probably more marked in c than in h. We have now nothing answering to the German Hlodwig, where the h was pronounced in the Fifth Century with such force as to be rendered Clovis, not Lovis. But in the Chronicle for 1050, a well-known English name appears as Hrodbert.

We find no used just as the Scotch now use it; gif ic no foresettu, where na would, as a general rule, have been used in the South.

A new element in English speech now comes into play. Rather before the time that the Northumbrian Psalter was compiled, the Danes began to harry unhappy England. The feuds of near kinsmen are always the bitterest; and this we found true in the Ninth Century. Soon the object of the heathen became settlement in the land, and not merely plunder. The whole of England would have fallen under their yoke, had not a hero come forth from the Somersetshire marshes.

In A.D. 876, we read in the Saxon Chronicle that the Danish king, 'Norohymbra land gedælde, and hergende weron and heora tiligende wæron.' In the next year, the outlandish host 'gefor on Myrcena land, and hit gedældon sum.' In 880, 'for se here on Eastængle and geset þat land and gedælde.' Here we find

¹ At the head of the Yarrow is a mountain, called of old by the Celtic name Ben Yair. To this the Romans prefixed their Mont, and the Danes long afterwards added their word Law. The hill is now called Mountbenjerlaw; in it hill comes three times over.—Garnett's Essays, p. 70.

many English shires, once thriving and civilised, par celled out within four years among the Danes. The Angles were now under the yoke of those who four hundred years earlier had been their neighbours on the mainland. Essex seems to have been the only Saxor shire that Alfred had to yield to the foreigner. Now it was that the Orms, Grims, Spils, Osgods, and Thors, who have left such abiding traces of themselves in Eastern Mercia and Northumbria, settled among us. They gave their own names of Whitby and Derby to older English towns, and changed the name of Roman Eboracum from Eoforwic to Iorvik or York.

The endings by, thwaite, ness, drop, haugh, and garth, are the sure tokens of the great Danish settlement in England; fifteen hundred of such names are still to be found in our North-Eastern shires. The six counties to the North of Mercia have among them 246 places that end in by; Lincolnshire, the great Danish stronghold, has 212; Leicestershire has 66; Northamptonshire 26; Norfolk and Notts have rather fewer.

The Danes were even strong enough to force their preposition amell (inter) upon Northumberland, where it still lingers. Our verbs bask and busk are Middle Verbs, compounded of the Icelandic baka and bua with the ending sik (self).² York and Lincoln were the great seats of Norse influence, as we see by the numbers of Norse

¹ Layamon, I. p. 113, relates these changes. According to him, the town was first called Kaer Ebrauc; then Eborac; then foreigners called it Eoverwic; and the Northern men by a bad habit called it ĕeorc.

² Dr. Morris was the first to point this out.

money-coiners who are known to have there plied their English freedom was in the end the gainer by the fresh blood that now flowed in. When Doomsday Book was compiled, no shire could vie with that of Lincoln in the thousands of its freeholders; East Anglia was not far behind.1 Danish surnames like Anderson, Paterson, and, greater than all, Nelson, show the good blood that our Northern and Eastern shires can boast. Thor's day was in the end to replace Thunresday. Another Norse God, he of the sea, bearing the name of Egir, still rushes up English rivers like the Trent and the Witham, the water rising many feet: the eagre is a word well known in Lincolnshire. The Norse felagi is a compound from fee and lay, a man who puts down his money, like the member of a club. This became in England felaze, felawe, fellow. So early as 1300 it had become a term of scorn; but the fellows of our Colleges will always keep alive the more honourable meaning of the word.

Few of England's children have done her better service than Alfred's son and daughter, whose deeds are written in the Saxon Chronicle. King Edward's reign was one steady war against the Danish lords of Mercia and East Anglia; the strife raged all along the line between London and Shrewsbury, the King's men throwing up works to guard the shires they were winning back foot by foot. Essex seems to have been mastered in 913, Staffordshire and Warwickshire within the next few years. In 915, the Danish rulers of Bed-

¹ Worsaae, The Danes and Northmen, pp. 71, 119, 170.

ford and Northampton gave their allegiance to the great King of Wessex; Derby and Leicester fell before his sister. The Norsemen struggled hard against Edward's iron bit; but the whole of East Anglia and Cambridge yielded to him in 921. By the end of the following year, he was master of Stamford and Nottingham; Lincolnshire seems to have been the last of his conquests. In 924, all the English, Danes, and Celts in our island chose Edward, the champion of Christianity against heathenism, for their Father and Lord. England, as we see, was speedily becoming something more than a geographical name.

Alfred had been King of the South; Alfred's son had won the Midland; Alfred's grandsons were now to bring the North under their yoke. The Danes drove the many quarrelsome English kingdoms into unity in sheer self-defence; much as in our own time the Austrians helped Italy to become one nation. The Saxon Chronicle in 941 names the Five Danish Burghs which overawed Mercia, and which have had so great an influence on the tongue now spoken by us.

Burga fife And Snotingahûm Ligoraceaster Swylce Stanford eac And Lincolne And Deoraby

Long had these been in Danish thraldom; they were now, as the old English ballad of the day says, loosed by Edward's son. Northumberland, under her Danish kings, was still holding out against the Southern Overlord. At length, in 954, the last of these kings dropped out of history; and, Eadred, the son of Edward and the

grandson of Alfred, became the one King of all England, swaying the land from the Frith of Forth to the English Channel.1

Wessex, it is easy to see, was to our island much what Piedmont long afterwards became to Italy, and Brandenburg to Germany. It is not wonderful then that in the Tenth Century the literature of Wessex was looked upon as the best of models, and took the placeof the Northumbrian literature of Bede's time. Good English prose-writers must have formed themselves upon King Alfred: English 'shapers' or 'makers' must have imitated the lofty lay, that tells how Alfred's grandsons smote Celt and Dane alike on the great day of Brunanburgh. The Court of Winches. ter must in those days have been to England what Paris has nearly always been to France: no such pattern of elegance could elsewhere have been found. For all that, were I to be given my choice as to what buried specimen of English writing should be brought to light, I should ask for a sample of the Rutland peasantry's common talk about the year that Eadred was calling himself Kaiser of all Britain.2 Such a sample would be as precious as the bad Latin, the foretaste of the New Italian, which may be read on the walls of Pompeii. By Eadred's time, two or three gene.

¹ Eadred was like King Victor Emmanuel, who has no underkings below him; Eadred's father was like Kaiser William.

² Kemble's Charters, II. 304. Little did I think, when writing thus in 1873, that three years later this title would be referred to by grave statesmen, as a reason for bestowing a new title upon Queen Victoria.

rations of Danes and Angles must have been mingled together; the uncouth dialect, woefully shorn of inflections, spoken in the markets of Leicester and Stamford, would be found to foreshadow the corruptions of the Peterborough Chronicle after 1120.

The country, falling within a radius of twenty miles drawn from the centre of Rutland, would be acknowledged, I think, as the cradle of the New English that we now speak. To go further afield; all the land enclosed within a line drawn round from the Humber through Doncaster, Derby, Ashby, Rugby, Northampton, Bedford, and Colchester (this may be called the Mercian Danelagh) helped mightily in forming the new literature: within this boundary were the Five Burghs, and the other Danish strongholds already named. outside this boundary was Yorkshire, which has also had its influence upon our tongue. Alfred's grandsons, on their way home to Winchester from their Northern fields, would have been much astonished, could it have been foretold to them that the Five Burghs, so lately held by the heathen, were to have the shaping of England's future speech. This New English, hundreds of years later, was to be handled by men, who would throw into the far background even such masterpieces of the Old English as the Beowulf and the Judith.

Some writers, I see, upbraid the French conquerors of England for bereaving us of our old inflections; it would be more to the purpose to inveigh against the great Danish settlement two hundred years before William's landing. What happened in Northumbria and Eastern Mercia will always take place when two kindred

tribes are thrown together. An intermingling either of Irish with Welsh, or of French with Spaniards, or of Poles with Bohemians, would break up the old inflections and grammar of each nation, if there were no acknowledged standard of national speech whereby the tide of corruption might be stemmed.

When such an intermingling takes place, the endings of the Verb and the Substantive are not always caught, and therefore speedily drop out of the mouths of the peasantry. In our own day this process may be seen going on in the United States. Thousands of Germans settle there, mingle with English-speakers, and thus corrupt their native German. They keep their own words indeed, but they clip the heads and tails of these words, as the Dano-Anglians did many hundred years ago.

About the year 950 another work was compiled in Northern English, the Lindisfarne Gospels.¹ It has some forms older than those of the Beowulf; it has other forms more corrupt than those used by Roy, about 1530. I give specimens of words, taken from these Gospels, side by side with the corresponding Wessex terms.

Southern English.	Northern English.	Modern English.
Se	Đe	The
Hi	Ða	They
\mathbf{Hyra}	$\operatorname{\mathcal{D}\!\mathit{e}ra}$	Their
Hi	Hia	Her
An þæra	An of ðæm	One of them
\mathbf{Eom}	\mathbf{Am}	\mathbf{Am}
Eart	\mathbf{Art}	Art
Ge synt	Aro gie	Are ye

¹ See a specimen of these in my Appendix.

Deŏ

Bycgeð

Modern English. Southern English. Northern English. Na mara Noht mara Not more Cildes Children Cildru Burgwaru Burguaras Burghers Father's will Fæder willan Faderes willo Ascade Axode Asked Breast. Brest Breost Sunu Sona Son Lifes Lives (vivit) Leofab Bohton Bochton Bought Inmong Among Gemang Beyeonda Beyond Begeondan Betweenan Bituien Between Before Before Beforan Claene of hearte Clean of heart Clæn-heortan Eorthes salt Earth's salt Eorthan sealt Gewoefen Woven Gewefen Ic cuedo inh to Quoth I to you Ic secge eow Hwitne gedon Huit geuirce To make white May ye Magon ge Maga gie Dearr Darr Dare Getimbrode Getimberde Timbered (built) Burh Burug Borough Cwæð Cuoeð Quoth Feoh Feh Fee Comes Cymő Cymmes Fynd Fiondas Fiends Don Doa Do (facere) Hund Hundrid Hundred Awriten be Awritten of Written of (de) Ge dydon Gie dide Ye did He sittes He sits He sitt Fulle bana Fulla mið banum Full of bones Seoc Sek Sick We doo We doe We do

> Does Byeð

Does

Buyeth

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Southern English.	Northern E nglish.	Modern English.
Losiað	Loseð	Loseth
Nigontig	Neantih	Ninety
Feower	Feor	Four
Fixas	Fisces	Fishes
Feorr	Farra	Far
Gesewen	Geseen	Seen
Spillde	Spild	Spilt (Perfect)
Lætra	Lattera	Latter
Unbindað	Unbinde	Unbind (solvite)
Ge biddað	Gie bidde	Ye bid
Becn	Becon	Beacon
Tacn	Tacon	Token
Ic hæbbe	Ic hafo	I have
Sunnadæg	Sunnedæ	Sunday
We drifon	We driofon	We drove
Duru	Dor	Door
Gescy	Scoeas	Shoes
$\mathbf{D}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{a}\mathbf{h}$	Đæch	\mathbf{Though}
Cuppa	Copp	Cup
Lyre	Lose	Loss (jactura)
Eapelicre	Eaður	Easier
Slæpð	Slepes	Sleeps
Wyrhta	Wercmonn	Workman
Swurd	Suord	Sword
\mathbf{Drige}	Dryia	Dry
Muð twegra oððe	Muð tuoe oððe ðrea	Mouth of two or three
preora gewitnesse	witnesa	witnesses
Heonon	Hena	Hence
Đriwa	Đriga .	Thrice
Drydda	Đirda	Third
Bryd	Bird	Bird

The Norsemen, breathing fire and slaughter, have for ever branded, as we see, their mark upon England's tongue. Northern English had become very corrupt since the year 800; as I before said, the intermingling

of two kindred tribes, like the Angles and Danes, must tend to shear away the endings of Nouns and Verbs. The Third Persons, both Singular and Plural, of the Present tense now often end in s instead of th, as he onscees; we follow the North in daily life, but we listen to the Southern form when we go to Church. The of the Imperative also becomes s, as wyrcas instead of wyrcas; indeed, the as is sometimes clipped altogether. New idioms crop up, which would have astonished King Alfred; we find full of fiscum for plenus piscium. The Old English Plural of nouns in an is now changed, and hearta replaces heartan; sad havock is made in all the other cases. The Genitive Singular and Nominative Plural in es swallow up the other forms. Thus we came back to the old Aryan pattern, in all but a few plurals like oxen; there is a wrong notion abroad that the German Plural in en is more venerable than the English Plural in es. Such newfangled Genitives Singular as sterres, brydgumes, heartes, tunges, fadores, and such Nominative Plurals as stearras, burgas, and culfras, are now found. There is a tendency to confound Definite with Indefinite Adjectives. The Dative Plural in um is sometimes dropped. In short, we see the foreshadowing of the New English forms. The South, where the Danes could never gain a foothold, held fast to the old speech; and some forms of King Alfred's time, now rather corrupted, linger on to this day in Dorset and Somerset; though these shires are not so rich in old words as Lothian is. The North, overrun by the Danes, was losing its inflections not long after Alfred's death; the East Midland must have been in the same plight.

As to the spelling of the Lindisfarne Gospels, we find the e doubled, as in geseen; we further see two new combinations, ai and ei, which were to be wide spread in later English. These, like the Southern ae, ea, and ie, had the sound of the French e. There is also au, as in King Alfred, for the more common aw; ou sometimes replaces ow, having the sound of the broad Italian u: a fashion that was to spread wide in the Thirteenth Century. We find vowels often doubled; there is oo as well as ee. The Southern feower (pronounced like fewer) is now seen as feor, not far from for, as we now pronounce the word for quatuor.

That change of sounds, which has influenced our later speech, may be clearly seen in these Northern Gospels.² Tamian becomes temma, stanas becomes stænas, wa is wæ. Hér (hic) is seen as hir, sceap (ovis) as scip. Tæhte (docuit) is found as tahte, our taught; ælmessan becomes almissa, our alms. Many other such instances could be given; the word reu (rue) is in our days sounded as if it was written ru (our roo); the old eu or eow always is sounded like u, if it follows r. So in these Gospels the Southern lareow is written laruu. We must look to the Northern shires for the first traces of our present pronunciation.

We know the old controversy about Home and Hume in the last century; the o and the u have indeed been

¹ We here see Seignas written for the Plural of the Southern word pagen; this shows how easily the foreign word reign long afterward took root in England.

² All the words that follow must be pronounced as the French would do now.

much confused in later English, and we here find both pol and pul, the Welsh pwl, our pool. Heo (illa) is here seen as hiu; hence the Lancashire hoo, so well known to Mrs. Gaskell's readers.

As to consonants, the Southern h is often turned into the hard ch; hweet becomes chueed; the kindred Latin quid, which was the word translated, seems to have suggested the d at the end of this Northumbrian word. So the Latin rectas is sometimes Englished by rectas, and not by the proper rihtus; the likeness between the two tongues must in many a word have forced itself upon any shrewd translator's mind, as I said before. To this day, in the Scotch Lowlands, words like right or night may be heard sounded with a strong guttural in the middle, as in German. In these Gospels, iuch is sometimes written for iuh (vos).

There is another imitation of the Latin in St. Luke xxii. 39, where *Olivarum* is Englished by *Olebearua*, as if the *varum* answered to our word *barrow*. Alfred in the South reversed this process, for he turned *Abner* into *Æfnere*.

There are strong hints of Danish influence; thus ulf is sometimes written for wulf, and the Old English seofoda (septimus) is seen as seofunda: here the n and d come from Scandinavia. The Danish Active Participle is often used instead of the Old English, as gangande for gangende; and this long lingered in Scotland. Our foreign invaders, in this instance, brought English nearer to Sanscrit than it was before.

Our tear is here seen in the very old form, teher, the Gothic tagr and the Greek dakru.

In the above instance, we have caught one of the last traces of the Old; I now afford one of the first glimpses of the New. In St. Matthew, xxv. 24, the Southern Gospels give for the Latin seminasti the true old form of the Second Person Singular of the Strong Perfect, seowe; this, in the Lindisfarne Gospels, takes an s at the end, as if it belonged to a Weak Verb, and becomes on sawes, 'thou sowedest,' and in St. Luke xix. 21 it is seen as on gesunulesd. This corruption made very slow way in England; even down to the Reformation we see the old form; and when that was unhappily lost, one of the most remarkable links between English and Sanscrit was snapped for ever.

There is another instance of the same corruption in St. Luke xiv. 22, where *imperasti* is Englished by ou gehehtes; the last word would, in the South, have had no s at the end.

In St. Luke, vii. 32, the Strong Perfect weopon (plorastis) is replaced by the Weak form gie wæpde, our ye wept. This process we saw beginning in the Psalter.

I have already pointed out the close tie between the letters s and r. In these Gospels they were becoming confused; in St. Luke, xv. 9, perdideram is Englished by both forleas and forlure.

The first instance of another corruption may be seen in St. Matthew ii. 9, (locus,) ubi erut puer; the ubi was always per in Old English, but we now see it translated by hwer as well as per. What led to the change is seen in St. John xii. 26; ubi is there Englished by sua huer,

¹ See how the Strong Verb should be conjugated at p. 25.

our whereso: this in the South would have been swa hwer swa. In the same way, as time went on, the relative that was replaced by the corrupt what. We have a remnant of the true Old English in take that thine is, though we look in vain for the similar stay there thou art.

Another startling change comes in St. Matt. xviii. 21, reminding us of Cicero's Habeo dicere. The old agan (making its Second Person Singular of the Present, pu age) meant no more than possidere, and this old sense lasted beyond the year 1600, as in Shakespeare's 'the noblest grace she owed.' But in the above Gospel text. ou aht to geldanne is employed to English the Latin debes; habes solvere. This aht, replacing the rightful age, is the parent of our ought; a most useful auxiliary verb, which now stands for nearly all the Persons, Singular and Plural, of the Present and Past tenses alike of agan. We have here, I think, the earliest instance of an English word sliding into a new meaning before our eyes; we shall meet with many other examples of this. Rather later, the verb with its new sense is found in King Canute's laws, and afterwards in the Chronicle for the year 1070. The kindred Scandinavian verb eiga may have had some influence in effecting the change of meaning here.

The Latin ave was Englished in the South by hal wæs pu, the first word being an adjective. In the North, the verb was dropped; for in St. Matt. xxvii. 29 ave becomes simply hal, our hail; the Scandinavian heill is used like this.

Our language is all the richer, since it comes from

different sources. We now use on and in with different senses, but it was not so of old. We follow these Northern Gospels when we talk of having life in the Scriptures; the Southern men substituted on for the in.

We know that while is now used in Yorkshire for the French jusqu'a ce que, not for the French pendant que; as in 'stay while I come.' In St. Matt. xxiv. 34 & a hwile is used for our modern till in the phrase 'till all these things be fulfilled.' This usage is often found in these Lindisfarne Gospels.

Our hwilum (whilem) for quondam is first found in St. Luke xxiii. 19; it stood commonly for aliquando, like the Scotch whiles.

In the South, the First Person Singular of the Perfect was kept distinct from its Plural brother; as ic fand (inveni), we fundon. In the North our present way of jumbling the two together was foreshadowed about nine hundred years ago; fund ic comes in St. Matt. viii. 10. In xiv. 30, the Glosser writes both ongann and ongume over the same Latin verb.

We have already seen bio bræd for favus; but in St. John vi. 23 we see the first use of bread for panis. This comes again in the Rushworth Gospels; the old hlaf by degrees made way for the new term.

Cove is seen in the glossary to Scott's Novels as a Northern term for a cave; cofa, with this sense, is found in these Gospels. There is another English word, hof, meaning the same, which seems to be the nearest akin of all to the Latin cavus, according to established rules.

The Latin agere pænitentiam had a most lofty sense

in St. Jerome's time, expressing an act of the mind, since he uses it of God Himself. In Italy, penitenza (a curious instance of the degradation of words), now rises no higher than a bodily act, done in atonement for sin. Before the year 1000 pænitentia had acquired the more debased meaning, at least in the South of England, since it is there translated by dæd-bote; but in the North it seems to have kept its nobler sense, for there it was Englished by hreonisse, ruefulness, (St. Matt. iii. 2). Long afterwards, Wickliffe and Coverdale went wrong in Englishing pænitentia by penance, while Tyndale, a far better scholar, whom we follow, hit upon the right word for the Greek metanoia.

Our peak is commonly derived from the French; but in St. Luke's account of our Lord's temptation, pinna templi was Englished in 950 by hornpic temples.

In St. Matt. xiv. 13, pedestres (in this Version alone) is translated by foedemenn. The word 'footman' does not appear again until about 1300, in the Alexander.

In the same Gospel, xxiv. 22, omnis caro is translated, not in our literal way, but by eghuele lichoma. This last word (the Latin corpus) gives us the first hint as to how our everybody and nobody arose.¹

In the same book, ix. 20, sanguinis fluxus becomes blodes flowing; the last word was never used in the South. The ing at the end of words was in time to supplant ung, and the change is often foreshadowed in these Gospels. It is to Northern England that we mainly owe our Verbal Nouns in ing, as we shall see

¹ Lye, as quoted by Posworth, says that *lîc* stands for the dead body, *lîchama* for the living body.

when perusing her monuments of the Thirteenth Century.

We sometimes hear the phrase 'to chop and change.' The first of these verbs is found in St. Luke xix. 15, where negotiatus esset is Englished by geceopad were. This seems more akin to the Scandinavian kaupa than to the Southern phrase ceápan, whence come cheap and chapman. Our verb job seems to come from this chop.

The Latin phrase cited above carries the mind to the English bisignisse, which translates sollicitudo, at page 15 of Hardwick's Versions of St. Matthew; Mr. Earle wishes to derive our business (negotium) from the French besoingnes. I am loth to yield up so thoroughly national a word to the foreigner; and I would suggest that there is but little difference in the meaning of negotium and sollicitudo. Either of them would express the cares of this life, a well-known Scriptural phrase. We still say 'I made it my business,' that is, 'my care;' just as Wickliffe wrote, zwe thou bisynesse (St. Luke xii. 58).

It is hard to tell whence comes our word sneer. In St. Matt. ix. 24 deridebant is Englished by smerdon; there may be an exchange here of m and n. In the South, this verb would have had a bi prefixed.

Our word bundles is first found as bunda, in St. Matt. xiii. 30; it is the Scandinavian bundin.

Our stir and shake were usually active Verbs, but in

¹ How beautiful an instrument of language is the Teutonic vowelchange in the middle of a word! We have thus struck off band, bend, bind, bond, bund-le. Compare share, shear, shire, &c.; grab, grip, grove, groove, grub, &c.

St. Matt. xi. 7 agitatam is Englished by styrende and sceacende.

In St. Matt. xxv. 36 the verb clæðdon (ye) clothed, is seen for the first time; this is the Scandinavian verb klæða.

In St. Luke's account of our Lord's sufferings, it is said that the soldiers thrashed Him, \u00f6urscon; this verb would in our days be thought hardly lofty enough for the occasion.

The Infinitive in n is constantly clipped; and not only does awrittan (scribere) become awritta, but passes further into awritte, our write. Many other such instances could be given. Sometimes a Perfect is clipped; thus eodon (ibant) becomes eado (St. Luke xxiv. 13).

The Southern syllan pe na becomes in the North gesella over no, 'give tribute or not.'

Our adjective high is used independently of substantives, as on high. This began very early, for in St. Luke i. 78 ex alto is Englished by of heh; the expression must have seemed rather strange, for of heofnum is there given as an explanation. These Latin idioms in the Bible must have had great influence upon English. When we see quæ et qualis mulier (St. Luke vii. 39) translated by huoelc and hulic wif, we cannot help thinking that the hulic must have been suggested by the kindred qualis, as the English word is never found in the South.

The Blickling Homilies, published in 1874 by Dr. Morris for the Early English Text Society, are remarkable as bearing a date; they were compiled in 971. I would suggest Staffordshire or the neighbourhood as the place where they were drawn up; they abound in Northern

forms, such as ivyob, halic (sanctus), hafab, aldor (princeps), owiht; the ge at the beginning of Past Participles is often clipped; e often replaces the Southern w and ea. On the other hand, there are peculiarities, which are afterwards seen in Salop; such as e for the i or u of other shires; senne (peccatum), bergean (sepelire), sceldig (reus). In sanwle (anima), p 43, the u and the w are united, either of which letters might have stood after a or o. In p. 159 we see the old form woruld (sæculum); in the page before, this is pared down to worlde.

The Consonants are often thrown out. The hrape (cito) of p. 155 loses its h in the preceding page; the g is lost in fyliende (sequens), p. 249; in halie (sanctus), p. 143; and in an, for agen (proprius), p. 105. Ofdune becomes adune (adown), p. 173; berern (horreum) becomes beren (barn), p. 41. In p. 21 we see open leohte written instead of on pon leohte ('i' the light,' as Shakespeare would say). Some have set this clipping down to the Danes' account, but it is due simply to Teutonic laziness in pronouncing consonants. Thus, before the year 400, on back is seen corrupted into the Gothic ibukai; King Alfred wrote both onweg and aweg (away). We may still say both on shore and ashore.

In p. 131 we find embe twelf monap (about a twelf-month); the first instance, I think, of this peculiarly English noun. In p. 45 we read, him sylfum nanige gode been, 'to be of no good to himself;' we now say, 'he is no good to any one.'

As to Pronouns, in pp. 23 and 45 we see pæm (illis) used where in the South heom would have come. This usage was continued 200 years later by Orrmin, who most

likely lived not far from the shire where these. Homilies were compiled. In p. 49 comes broper mine (brethren mine), instead of the usual form. Another usage of Orrmin's is foreshadowed in p. 127; we see æt æghwylcum anum (at each one): in the South, the last word, anum, would not have been allowed. It was the indefinite man that stood elsewhere for the Greek tis; but in p. 125 we read of the finest work that men could devise: an idiom that we still keep.

In p. 243 ane tid stands for olim, and shows whence comes our once, in the sense of the Latin word. In p. 215 is he harfde tween lass pe twentig (he had two less than twenty), a most terse English idiom.

In p. 165 the Angel tells Zacharias ne wilt pu pe ondreadan (fear not); an early instance of will being used to soften a command.

We find such phrases as efne swa (just so), p. 75; ful leof (full dear), p. 131. A well-known Adjective is here used much like an Adverb: still had hitherto Englished the French tranquille, it is now further used for toujours. We read in p. 209 of men pe on dare stowe stille wunodan (that dwelt still in the place); the context shows that still was gaining a new sense, which was long peculiar to the North.

In p. 121, five lines from the top, swa is evidently used for the Latin ergo; a most striking innovation.

As to Prepositions, the use of by is much extended. In p. 213 comes ferdan be him (went past him); in p. 185 is heoldan be him (hold by them, cleave to them). It had often been used to express the instrument; it now introduces the agent, in p. 163, answering to the Latin

ab; something is ongyten be callum men (understood by all men). This last sense is most unusual, and is not found again, I think, until Mandeville's time, nearly four hundred years later. In p. 217 we get our first hint of unto; St. Martin, seeing men stand round a person's body, went into him. In p. 127 comes up of breast heah (high up to the breast), the source of our breast-high.

Latin words were losing their own endings, and were being stamped with the English mark; we here find discipul, apostol, templ.

The Rushworth Gospels were compiled in the North about the year 1000. One of the translators was a priest at Harewood in Yorkshire. I give a few words to show how much nearer the dialect is to our present speech than West Saxon is:—

Southern.	Northern.	Modern.
Ic	\mathbf{D}_{1}	I
Eac	Ek	Eke
Byreð ·	$\mathbf{Bere}\delta$	$\mathbf{Beareth}$
To cumenne eart	Cwome scalt	Shalt come
Ealle gearwe	All iare	All yare (ready)
Geoc	Ioc	Yoke
Neara	Naru	Narrow
Seolfer	Sylfur	Silver
On middan	In midle	In middle
Geonga	Iunge	Young
Pening	Pennig	Penny

There were traces of Danish forms in the Lindisfarne Gospels; these are still plainer to the eye in the Rush-

¹ Mr. Skeat has lately fixed the date of these Northern Gospels; see his Preface to St. Mark. In my former work I was here misled by Garnett.

worth Book. In St. Luke, xix. 21, tu es is translated by the kindred pu is, which is a sure mark of Scandinavia; the is in the old Northumbrian kingdom answered to the Latin sum, es, est, all alike.\(^1\) There is another Danish form in St. Luke xxiii. 41, where the pronoun hic is translated, not by \(^0\)es, but by \(^0\)er; the thir may be remarked in the 'Cursor Mundi,' in Hampole, and in Scotch law documents almost down to the year 1700.

In the North, words were pared down as much as possible; the first letter of apostol is here cast out, much as in Orrmin's writings two hundred years later; this is a Scandinavian usage, which lasted down to Wickliffe's time. The Southern geworden became in Yorkshire awarö; where the Old English prefix ge lingers in our day, it commonly takes the form a.

The Northern k is here much used for the Southern c, and cu is turned into qu, following the Latin. The combination oi may be remarked, which was very rare in England before this time, except in proper names like Boisil and Loidis; it seems to have been sounded like the French ℓ . There is an early instance of v replacing f, in St. Matt. i. 24, where wive is found for wif; we see in another place leovost. I often stands for g, at the beginning of words. Alfred's gh, so common with us, replaces the guttural h, as, neghibur, for the old neahbur. The sound of o is already confused with that of u, for we find $undua\delta$ (solvite). As happens in many other instances, we now write this word in the Southern way,

This may be seen in the Jacobite ballad:—
'Cogie, an the King come,
I'sé be fou, and thou's be toom.'

and pronounce it as the Northerners did. The old *gress* (herba) is now seen as *gress*, our *grass*.

What in the South was hyne, becomes him in the North; the Dative replaces the Accusative, both in the Singular and Plural, as we see in St. Matt. xvii. 5, and other places; in chap. ii. 4, we find heom used for hig, just as we say in talking, 'I asked 'em.'

There is a curious idiom in St. Matt. xv. 32; preo dagas is nu put, &c. We should now prefix it to the is. The other Versions keep closer to the Latin.

In St. Matthew xxvi. 68, we find the first instance, I think, of the Neuter Relative standing after a Masculine Antecedent; hwa is put be sloy? 'who is it that?' This is just as if a Latinist were to write, quis est quod?

There is a like innovation in St. Matt. xv. 34; hwat hlafas, &c.? 'what loaves?' This translates the Latin quot, which the Glosser perhaps took for a kindred word; but the English hwat had never been coupled with a Plural Nominative before, so far as can be known.

In St. Luke xxiii. 34, hweet for the first time stands as a Relative, like the Latin quod; wutun pæt hwæt hi doað. We should now strike out the pæt. These three last instances of corruption in English show what influence the intermingling of Anglians with Danes has had in our land. More than a hundred years later, the corrupt English of the North was spreading downward to Peterborough. We should cast aside all the old notions about our grammar owing its debasement to the Norman Conquest. Rich Kent, though overrun with foreigners, held fast to the Old English endings down to 1340, long after the greater part of the land had dropped

them; Yorkshire had got rid of many of her endings long before the Normans came. It was not these last conquerors that substituted the Plural ending in es for the old Plural in en; this en, with its Genitive in ene, lasted until 1340 in Kent.

The old of gets a new meaning, our concerning, in St. John xviii. 23. In the South, the rightful be was maintained; cyb gewitnesse be yfele, 'of the evil.'

The ending es is seen added to Adverbs in St. Matthew viii. 32; we there find niverweardes. This is the parent of our corrupt ones (once), hence, always, and many such.

We often find dol used for stultus, whence comes our dolt; the t as usual rounding off the word.

Piper (tibicen), the Scandinavian pipari, seems peculiar to the North, as another word is employed in the Southern Gospels.

We sound our word whelps more correctly now than was done in the North nine hundred years ago; for in St. Matthew xv. 27, it is written welpas. All who wish to speak good English must clearly sound the h before the w in words like when, what.

In St. Matthew xxi. 19, continuo is Englished by in styde, a Danish form. Hence comes our 'on the spot,' referring to time, not to place.

The old tuna (enclosure), might stand for either a village or a garden; it is here applied to Bethany and to Gethsemane alike.

The Latin torrens is Englished by hlynne in St. John xviii. 1. This word is peculiar to the North; the linns of Scotland are well known.

When we talk of our bounden duty, we are more primitive than the author of the Rushworth Gospels was, who clips the last consonant, and has unbunde for solutum; the endings of Verbs were now much mauled. But he cleaves to his old dom (facio), where the m marks a very early date.

In St. Mark v. 14, foed is found instead of foedon; here the rightful ending disappears altogether. Wickliffe is far more primitive, for he has thei fedden, they fed.

We follow the Southern Perfect spætton (they spat), rather than the spittadun of these Gospels. In the Present, we prefer the Northern spit to the old Southern Present spæt. Our Standard English comes from many different shires far apart.

The Southern Participle geenyt (knit) has prevailed over the geenyted of the Rushworth Gospels.

I have kept one of the greatest changes till the last. In St. Matthew vi. 7, doan stands for faciunt; in St. John xix. 15, habbon stands for habemus. The n that ends these words in the Plural of the Present is something altogether new; it would have been replaced by 8 in the South, by s in the North. These changes will be discussed a little later; it is enough now to remark, that these Gospels could not well have been Englished far to the North of Doncaster.

We may now return to Southern England. The effect of Latin upon English may be seen in Ælfric's Grammar, which belongs to this time. He finds himself obliged to use foreign terms; as, 'Pronomina habbat's

¹ See Somner's edition of it.

feower declinunga, p. 17; we habbað declinod . . . we wille secgan þa seofan derivativa, p. 18; þa habbað six casus. Sutor is Englished by sutere; murmur by ceowung (jawing). He can translate quadrupes by fyperfete; but there is a sad falling-off in our power of compounding, when bivium has to be Englished by the cumbrous twegra wega gelæte. He is happy in having gemetu, wherewith to translate the kindred metra. His pupils cannot have gathered much new knowledge from this sentence; 'syndon indeclinabilia, þæt is, undeclinigendlice,' p. 51; a curious instance of a foreign word being fitted with an English head and tail. The names of the cases are given in Latin.

We may remark in Ælfric's other writings, that he talks of a halig sanct, thus coupling two synonyms; and he cuts down the old gehâl (integer) to hâl, thus confounding it with the English word for sanus; for these points see Sweet's 'Anglo-Saxon Reader,' 99, 100. Wifmen is pared down to wimmen, our women, just as the Latin amavisse became amasse, Gnaivod became Cnæo; we still keep the sound of the old word wimmen, though we misspell it. The hard g is softened in the third letter of geiukodan (jugati); Cerberus becomes Cerverus, and on the other hand Joves becomes Jobes, the Genitive of Jupiter. La Elfric speaks of a, dat is open laga; here we have the Old English and the new Danish translations of lex.2 In the Chronicle for the year 994, and in the year 998, Surh is replaced by ouruh, whence thorough and thoroughfare. In the year 1009, the old hlafmæsse loses its h in two

¹ See Thorpe's Analecta, 37, 91, 92, 102, for these changes.

² Sweet, Anglo-Saxon Reader, 64, 90.

copies of the Chronicle, and loses its j in a third. Our Lammas was nearly formed.

Kemble's 'Charters,' after the year 1000, show a great change going on in our tongue. In III. 353, we hear that a man undertakes to put nothing fals in a book; the adjective is a foreign word. Danish words come in with Canute; in IV. 37, we hear of silver weighed 'be hustinges gewihte.' In a Will of 1046 (IV. 106), heriot replaces here-geatu; the Danish word laga (lex) is plainly about to drive out the Old English a. In IV. 870, we come upon the true form of Edward the Confessor's Charters, and we can see how wretchedly other documents of his reign have been mauled by later transcribers; many of these latter papers are set out by Kemble.

Mr. Wright has printed, in his Popular Treatises on Science, an English Manual of Astronomy, that dates from about 1000 or a little earlier. Bæda here becomes Beda, mærgen becomes merien (morn), and there is mæden, which has lost the g before its d; orcerd, not far from our orchard, comes in p. 10.

In p. 16 we hear that lewd men call Septemtrio carles-wén; it is curious that we have preserved the old letter a in our corruption of this name, and that we do not here talk of churl. In p. 18 we read of Elias and his cnapa; this last word was adding the sense of servus to its old meaning puer, and nearly four hundred years later it was to take a third sense, that of nebulo. The terseness of English comes out in the phrase, an igland be norðan þysum syx daga fær (an island six days' journey North of this); this fær is the Accusative of measuring,

which was in time to encroach greatly upon other cases.

In p. 13 bissextus is Englished by twuwa syx, 'twice six;' this is not often found so early. A remnant of the old sound lasted down to Mandeville's time, who has two so much.

In p. 17 we see our forcible idiom, which replaces if, coupled with the Subjunctive, by the Imperative; Lord Macaulay was very fond of this. Nime ænne sticcan, hit hatað; 'take a stick, it will become hot.'

Even in those early days learned men found that they could not wholly express their meaning in pure English; we read here of *circul* and *firmamentum*. We hear of the *hlyd-mon*o (noisy month), which we now call *March*; and we have also *Februarius*; the old and the new.

One of the tokens of change in a language is, that a Noun is brought in to express in a more lengthy way what had been denoted by a Preposition. In a Charter of 1046 (Kemble, IV. 106), the old wið pan pe is exchanged for on dam gerad dæt (on condition that).

The 'Apollonius,' published by Mr. Thorpe, cannot well be dated before 1050; the clippings are frequent; Infinitives and Participles are sadly maimed. The old uncnawen (unknown) is seen as uncnawe, a corruption of the Past Participle that is a sure mark of the South. With us, a cup is broken, an officer is broke.

The e, which should come at the end of words, often vanishes; the Adverb rihte becomes riht. The y is often turned into i, thus bysig becomes bisy, p. 20. We see

find (fiend) in p. 7, just as we now pronounce the word.

Many Consonants are thrown out, as we have remarked before; ariht is found in p. 3, I think, for the first time; ancanned loses its first n in p. 24; the Infinitive rowan loses its last n. Menigu multitudo) becomes mænio in p. 12; hence Dryden's 'the many rend the skies.' In p. 18 the Article se becomes pe, as we still have it.

In p. 19 is an instance of the repetition of one and the same noun, an idiom in which England delights, 'the king held him hand on handa.'

In p. 4 we see another change of meaning; cuith had hitherto been used to English servus; it now bears something like our sense of the word; for ealdorman (prince) is written over it as an explanation. A word is often degraded, but not often promoted, as in this instance.

In p. 12 we find sumne pæt pe gemiltsige; here the Neuter Relative pæt is used after a Masculine Antecedent, as in the North. In the next page, to $\hat{a}n$ is used instead of the proper to $\hat{a}num$.

In p. 8 comes ic gehirde secgan, 'I heard say;' here man, which should be the third word, is dropped. The Adverb forowerd seems to become an Adjective in p. 10, 'they were forowerd on their way;' forward is now often used by us as an Adjective. In p. 14 efne is used in a new sense 'efne pes man, whom thou didst aid, is envious;' it seems something like the Latin ipse.

There are changes in the Chronicle after the year 1000. Six years after that date the old Wintanceaster is

seen as Wincester, to which we now add but one letter. In 1035, the q is thrown out of hlæfdige; in 1049 the \mathfrak{p} is thrown out of Norpmen. A little later, Petrus becomes Petre (Peter). In 1052 stands Michaeles mæsse (Michaelmas); here the Saint at the beginning is dropped; as also in Thomes masse; we often in our day hear the Genitive Thomases used, like the old Genitive Juliuses. In 1054. a bishop for pæs kynges ærende, 'he went the king's errand: 'a curious idiom of the Accusative after an Intransitive Verb. This is something more than the old 'live a life,' 'fight a fight.' In the year 1055 we hear of Hereford port (town), an instance of English conciseness, like Sinai munt. In the year 1061 word com (word came) that, &c. In 1064, a man marches against his enemy with many shires that are named; here the shires stand for their inhabitants, like Macaulay's 'fast fled Ferentinum.' In the same year, the Apostle Jude is The land of Cambria appears about this time as Brytland and Wealas (year 1048); the dwellers therein are be Welsc. A few years later, in 1077, it is the land to the West of Normandy that is called Brytland, the Brittany of our time.

There is an Impersonal idiom in 1052, pa com hit to witenne pam eorlum, 'then came it to the knowledge of the earls.' In 1044 we read of 'the Abbot of Abbandune;' the of is here beginning to supplant the rightful on.

In the year 994 stands at neartan, 'in the next place;' we should now say simply next; at least dates from the same age, and at all was to come later. In the year 1066 a man lifede buton pry gear; here the ne is

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dropped before the verb, and thus buton gets the sense of the Latin tantum.

We have seen the changes in the North; even in the South, Danish words were taking root; some are found in Canute's day; and William I., addressing his Londoners in their own tongue, says that he will not allow 'bæt ænig man eow ænig wrang beode.' This wrang (malum) comes from the Scandinavian rungr (obliques); it drove out the Old English woh.

I shall consider elsewhere the effect of the Norman Conquest upon England's speech. I give in my Appendix a specimen of the East Anglian dialect, much akin to the Northumbrian, written not long after the battle of Hastings. In the Legend of St. Edmund, the holy man of Suffolk, we see the forms of pe, de, and the, all replacing the old se; the cases of the Substantive and the endings of the Verb are clipped; the prefix qe is seldom found, and iset stands for the old Participle yeset. As to the Infinitive, the old dælfan becomes dælfe; the Dative heom replaces the old Accusative hi, as heom wat gehwa. 'each knows them.' The adjective does not agree in case with the substantive; as mid æpele deawum. An heora is turned into 'an mon of him; a corruption that soon spread over the South. The first letter is pared away from hlaford; the Anglian alle replaces the Southern ealle. Eode is making way for wende (ivit); and we find such forms as child, nefre, healed, fologede, instead of cild, næfre, hælod, fyligde.

¹ Mr. Thorpe, in his Analecta Anglo-Saxonica, looks upon the Legend, which he prints, as an East Anglian work.

The Chronicle, after the Norman Conquest, shows new forms of spelling; the Northern ei replaces e and e, as in aweig and togeines; dræf (pepulit) becomes draf. A Welshman is named in the year 1097, whose name was Caduugaun; here the au is employed to express the strong accent on the last syllable. The Plural as now becomes es, as casteles, in the year 1087. The old Gleaweceastre (pronounced Glewekaistre), is written Gloweceastre in the year 1119; not far from our Glowester. An u is sometimes inserted, for bosm becomes bosum.

As to Consonants; n is used to round off a word, for the Celtic Donacha is written Dunecan in 1093. The n. on the other hand, is clipped in 1087, when wære (erant) replaces weeron. We have seen that w was not a favourite letter in the North; the Old English letter for w was disused so early as 1070 in the South, for in one of the Chronicles we read of Cantuarebyri. th begins to usurp upon the old p, as in Theotford; the hard q is dropped in the middle of halie, dria, and anie. A well-known name is written Rogger in 1076. The old eallgeador is lengthened to eall togedere in the year 1095. The change of f into v, in the middle of a word, proceeds: In the very year of the Norman Conquest, we read of a provost, and in the next year we find unsivernisse; one version of the Chronicle, in 1078, talks of Eofeshamme. while another spells the word as Evesham. The interchange of s and r (see page 87 of this book) is found; in the year of the Conquest we see both the old gecuron and the new cusen (they chose).

The Article stands by itself, followed by of, thus saving the repetition of a Noun that had gone before;

in the year 1096 is found, se earl of Flandran and se of Bunan (he of Boulogne). This setting a Pronoun (such the Article is here) before a Preposition, is strange to Old English, though it might be done in Greek and Gothic.

One of the first changes that followed the Conquest was the great development given to of; the old Genitive of Neuns was now encroached upon, and French influence may have been here at work. Within twenty-five years after 1066, we find—

let littlice of oð (recked of oath)
aferede of heom (afraid of them)
mycel dæl of his mannon
belandoð of þam þe (stripped of)
he sende of his mannan (some of his men)
yrfenuma of eallon (heir of all)

As to this last, in the very next sentence we see the true old Genitive form yrfenuma ealles. So in the sentence, that follows cyng of Denmearcan, comes the rightful Englalandes cyng. We stand here, in 1085, between the Old and the New. In 1095, there is a new idiom, Gothic but not Old English; stars fall be anan odde twam, 'by one or two.' A few sentences on, we see this by stand for the Latin per; sende Romgesceot be him; purh would have been employed earlier. In 1076, something turns out to mycclan hearme; this reminds us of the older to miclum weorde, p. 69.

Wioutan of old meant no more than extra, but in 1087 it gained the new sense of sine, as we now mostly use it. The great William, we hear, would have won

Ireland wibutan ælcon wæpnon. In 1076, a man is said to be Brittisc on his modor healfe (side). In 1094, uppon is used for præter; uppon pæt; this is the source of our thousands upon thousands.

In Pronouns, the confusion of cases has begun, as in the North; in the year 1067 we find heom, the Dative, stand for hi, the Accusative. There is a startling corruption in the account of Stamford Bridge Fight, added by a later hand after the year 1100; instead of the rightful oder, we read pa com an oper, which is as though a Latinist should write unus alter for alter. There is also refre pe oder man, 'every other man,' in 1087. In 1096, naping is found for nan ping.

In Substantives, there are tokens found that a great change has come over England; bêc is turned into bokes, (libri); in 1070, we find an swerunge (oath-swearing); this prefixing an Accusative to a Verbal Noun became very common; such a phrase as bearn cennung had always been used. In 1073, comes on pa sæhealfe (seaside); here two nouns are packed together, most tersely. In 1098, we hear that a mere blod weoll (ran blood); a new use of the Accusative. In 1086, we read that the Conqueror dubbade his sunu Henric to ridere; this French chevalier is in the next year Englished by cniht. The Dative in um was vanishing; we find the phrase mid feave mannan in 1088. In 1091, we read of 12 of pes cynges healfe and 12 of pes eorles; the English

¹ This of old would have been bûtan. Our but still expresses nisi, præter, quin, sed, verûm; in Scotland, I believe, it may still stand for extra and sine. Our fathers must have thought that too great a load was thrown upon one word.

seem to have resolved upon saving their breath and not repeating their Substantives.

As to Adjectives, there is a new construction in the year 1085, hu mycel hit were wurd, 'how much it was worth;' here the Accusative replaces the old Genitive after wurd. Gewer of old meant only cautious; it now gets the sense of our aware, as we see in 1095. Three years later, trywe (fidus) takes a new meaning, that of honestus; a prodigy is related on the faith of certain trywe men.

The Comparative Adverbs, bet and leng, are now changed into betere and lengre. The repetition of a comparative adverb (more and more, for instance), has been popular with us ever since swidor and swidor was set down in the account of the year 1086. In the next year we read næfde he næfre swa mycel yfel gedon; but we should now say, 'had he done ever so much evil;' still the older idiom remains in our Bible.

As to Verbs, in 1070 we find that the old ahte (in the sense of debere) has come down South from Yorkshire; many other words have followed in its track since that year. A new idiom for the Subjunctive starts up in 1087, instead of the old Imperfect formerly used; gif he moste libban, he hafde gewunnon, 'he had won' or 'he would have won,' superavisset. This had we still keep in poetry; our present substitute for it in prose was to crop up seventy years later than the above-quoted entry. In the wonderful sketch of the Conqueror, in 1087, the writer tells us hu gedon mann he was; this gedon means compositus, and we still talk of well-done meat. Our Pluperfect of the word be is first found in 1096, he heafde gebeon, 'he had been.' There is no

Pluperfect like this in Old English, but the Icelandic has hefir verit (Mätzner, II. 74); gebeon replaces the old gewesen. In 1098, a prodigy was related by men that sceoldan geseon hit; we should say must have seen it. They say in the North, 'you would hear that fact a month ago;' where would hear stands for must have heard; this reminds us of the time when we had no Pluperfect of the Subjunctive. In 1100 comes the unusual Passive form, blod was geseven weallan (visusest fluere), instead of the former idiom, 'man saw blood flow.'

As to Pronouns, in 1072, William did with his enemies pet he wolde; this pet stands for the old swa hwet swa (quodeunque); we should now replace it by what. In 1095 we hear of pu feower forewarde dagas (the four first days); the usual idiom here would be pa forman twâ (the first two). Either idiom is used now, and is most venerable. In 1100 King Henry acts be pere rede pe him abutan weran (by the rede of them that were about him). It is most unusual, in Old English, to find this Relative pe detached from its Antecedent; it should have followed as the very next word. Scott has 'their lot who fied.' In modern English composition the improper position of the Relative is the commonest of all grammatical pitfalls.

We may here cast a glance at Domesday Book, which tells us how English words, pronounced by peasants and not by scholars, sounded in Norman ears. The ch was employed for k, as in *Chent, Berchelai*; gh expressed the hard sound of g before e or i, as *Ghersintune*.\(^1\) The z

¹ This gh was much used in Tudor times to express the hard g before e or i; this usage prevails in Italy.

was often used for s. The q and b in the middle ω words were thrown out: Eadquth and Sweyen became Eddeva and Suen; Epelric became Ailric. The h was turned into c, as Brictric. When we see Ælfred written Alured, we light upon the first trace of a new form of the word. The u is often written for r and f. The English u is commonly written ou, in the French way. What we now call Hulland was set down in the Survey as Hoilant: the French sounded of as ou or ou-e.1 The b was always a puzzle to Frenchmen; begn was written teign. There was a place in Derbyshire called Wilelmstorp (now Williamsthorpe), which was held in 1065 by one Swain Cilt; this is a curious instance of a foreign Christian name taking root in English soil, as the name of a hamlet. One of the greatest changes is that of the old Wigeraceaster into Wircestre, not far from our Worcester: Darbie shows the new sound, still existing, of Decraby. There can be no doubt about the Old English pronunciation of ow, when the Frenchmen write the old Stow as Stou; the former combination has usually had to make way for the latter. In Lincolnshire and Derbyshire the old a was in some places getting the sound of the French ê, for Staintone is found; the Northern sound was coming Southwards. Fugelestou had not as yet been cut down to Fulstow.

We may examine the Peterborough Chronicle from 1100 down to the great fire in 1116. There is a tendency to get rid, of g in every part of the word; thus in the year 1100 we read that William Rufus was slain by his

¹ We find in Scotland the two forms of one proper name, Mure and Moir, like the old Latin ornus, unus.

anan men; the an should have been agen (proprius); even our word own in 1877 keeps more of the old form than the an of 1100. There are forms like sari and don; in the last the prefix ge is altogether pared away, as in In 1104 gebrogden becomes gebroiden Yorkshire. (braided); we shall often find y or i replacing an old hard q. This oi differs from the oi in Hoilant, for it here has the sound of the French \hat{e} , just as the French Moretoin was pronounced; our broidered hair is a relic of the old form of the word just quoted. The diphthong æ was soon to vanish; in 1105 we see ahwær instead of eghwer; the Northern ei, as well as oi, was becoming popular in the Midland, for we see reinas (rains) in 1116; a third combination for the French é. namely ai. was soon to follow oi and ei down from the North.

The Indefinite an is used before a proper name of time in 1116; something happened on an Frigdag. We know the sense of our fatherland, borrowed of late years from the German; in the year 1101, fæderland meant simply paternal estate. In 1110 we see the method of reckoning by nights, and not by days, in feowertyne nihta (fortnight). We read that when Rufus was buried, the Witan were neh handa, nigh at hand, or handy. In the year 1104 there is a startling change, much like the one in the Lindisfarne Gospels which substituted huer (ubi) for the old pær. The Earl of Moretoin worked against the King; for hwan (quam ob causam) the King punished him. This is an early Midland instance of hwa (it properly answered to the Latin quis, not to qui) being used as a Relative; an older writer would have written forpam. The new form

is repeated in 1110. We have a rather curious idiom in our day, 'a castle of the earl's,' a kind of double Genitive; we see something like this in the year 1106, as pas eorles ænne castel. In the year 1114 comes wolde he, noide he, the ancestor of our willy nilly. In 1116 appears of ranan segcean, 'speak of none;' bi of yore would have been used instead of this of, which we saw in the Rushworth Gospels. Since those days, of and bi seem to have changed places in our common talk. What we write 'nothing at all' was in 1110 set down as nanbing mid eille. In the same year comes nanhing of him was gesæwn (seen); a startling change in idiom. The helpful word man now shrinks into me, answering to the French on, as me began to weorcenne; this was to last for 200 years. In 1119 we hear that an Earl died of wounds. Before this, in 1114, the Dative had been confusec with the Accusative, as in the North; for him is put for hine. Our Southern peasants still use the latte, as 'hit un hard;' Squire Western, who was above a peasant (at least in rank), loved this old phrase. The article se is so confused in all its cases that we ind he sende se arcebiscop, where it stands for the Accustive. Our muddling of the Dative and Accusative is vry plain in the sentence he geaf pone abbotrice an munec The Plural hus now becomes husas, our houses: th' ending as was to swallow up all its brethren; this cannt be owing to French influence, as I have hefore said

I have low brought my readers to the threshold of a fresh Perid, which was to sweep away nearly all our old Inflections to weaken disastrously our power of compounding, to get rid of thousands of our common words, and to pour French adulterations into our word-store, which had been hitherto all but wholly Teutonic. There was to be a marked difference between the English of 1120 and the future English of 1303. I doubt whether any European language ever underwent changes such as have befallen our own Mother-tongue, at least within times traceable by History.

¹ As regards change, nearest to English comes Spanish; with its Latin groundwork, and its later infusion, first of German, then of Arabic. Germany and Scandinavia never underwent any pernanent foreign conquest, and therein differ from the other nations of Jurope.

CHAPTER III.

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH.

Period I. — Cultivation.

(1120-1220.)

England has been happy, beyond her Teutonic sisters, in the many and various stores of her oldest literature that have floated down the stream of time. Poems scriptural and profane, epics, war-songs, riddles, translations of the Bible, homilies, prayers, treatises on science and grammar, codes of law, wills, charters, chronicles set down year by year, tales, and dialogues—all these (would that we took more interest in them!) are our rich inheritance. In spite of the havock wrought at the Reformation, no land in Europe can show such monuments of national speech for the 400 years after A.D. 680 as England boasts. And nowhere else can we so clearly mark the national speech slowly swinging round from the Old to the New.

Take the opposite case of Italy. In 1190 we find Falcandus holding in scorn the everyday speech of his countrymen, and compiling a work in the Old Italian (that is, Latin), such as would have been easily read by Cæsar or Cicero. Falcandus trod in the path that had

been followed by all good Italian writers for twelve centuries; but two or three years after his book had been written, we find his countryman, Ciullo d'Alcamo, all of a sudden putting forth the first known poem in the New Italian, a poem that would now be readily understood by an unlettered soldier like Garibaldi.

In Italy, there is a sudden spring from the Old to the New, at least in written literature; but in England the change is most slow. I have already traced the corruption shown in the Northumbrian writings. Peterborough Chronicle of 1120, we see an evident effort to keep as near as may be to the old Winchester standard of English. Some of the inflections indeed are gone, but the writer puts eall for the all that came into his everyday speech, and looks back for his pattern to King Alfred's writings. In 1303, we find a poem, written by a man born within fifteen miles of Peterborough: the diction of this Midland bard differs hardly at all from what we speak under Queen Victoria. Nothing in philology can be more interesting than these 180 years, answering roughly to the lives of our first Angevin King, of his son, grandson, and great-grandson.

The Middle English, ranging between the two lastgiven dates, may be divided into three ages, upon each of which I shall bestow a Chapter:—

- I. Cultivation: from 1120 to 1220.
- II. Neglect: from 1220 to 1280.
- III. Reparation: from 1280 to 1303.

In Age I. English was fairly well cultivated, and few old words used in prose were allowed to slip; it was different with our inflections, at least in the North. In Age II., English was cast aside as something vulgar, and nearly every cultivated writer in our island betook himself to French or Latin; our tongue almost lost its noble power of compounding, and parted with thousands of old words. A very few translations from French and Latin kept a feeble light burning during these baleful years. In Age III. English writers translated copiously from the French, though they gave birth to nothing original; they thus stopped the decay of our fast perishing language, and French words in shoals were brought in to supply the place of the English lost in Age II.

In going through these 180 years, the plan I follow is this. I first give specimens of prose and poetry written within the Mercian Danelagh and East Anglia, where our classic New English was for the most part These specimens are the first-fruits of the East Midland Dialect. To each specimen I add a contrast, being some poem or treatise, written outside the aforesaid district, either in the South, the West, or the North. The samples from within the Danelagh, and from its Yorkshire border, will be seen boldly to foreshadow what is to come; the samples from shires lying to the South and West of the Danelagh will show tokens of a fond lingering love for what is byegone. In the East Midland there was the same mingling of Angles and Danes that we find in the shires where the Northumbrian Gospels were translated.

In questions bearing on dialects, clearness and precision are of the utmost importance; I therefore here set up a new landmark, which will be of some use in fixing the shires where different poems were compiled. If we draw a line from Shrewsbury through Northampton and Bedford to Colchester, we shall roughly lav down the boundary between the shires that were wrested from the Celts by Saxon kings, and those other shires that were first settled by Angles and afterwards handed over to the Danes by Alfred.1 This line I make bold to call the Great Sundering Line: I only wish I could write Tonque-shed, like water-shed. To the North and East of this Line (it answers fairly to the Loire in France) lived the men whose language, a mixture of Danish and Anglian, foreshadowed the New English. To the South and West of this Line lived the descendants of the Old Saxons, such as Cerdic's men, whose purer tongue, down to 1400 and even later, showed a warm attachment to inflections that had elsewhere passed away. The Peterborough Chronicle, written about 1160, is far easier to a novice in Old English than is the renowned Kentish treatise of 1340. The difference between the language of the two is explained by one simple fact: the Danish settlement of 870. 'Clip and pare' was the watchword of the Danelagh; 'Hold to the old ways 'was the watchword of King Alfred's

¹ Essex, taken as a whole, belonged to the South. In the Chronicle of Ralph of Coggeshall, published by the Master of the Rolls in 1875, we read that a ghost, appearing in Suffolk, loquebatur Anglice secundum idioma regionis illius.—Page 120. This proves that about the year 1200 there was a difference between the speech of Suffolk and that of Northern Essex, where Ralph lived. I have therefore taken care to carry my line to the North of Coggeshall. Mr. Taylor (Words and Places, 110) proves that there was a Danish colony in the North-east of Essex, for which I have made allowance.

shires. As to the corruptions that distinguish New English from Old English, we may put two-thirds of these down to the Danelagh, the remaining one-third to the Southern shires. The two-thirds are represented by a line drawn between York and Colchester; the onethird by a line drawn between Worcester and Canterbury. There are various marks which show at once where English manuscripts were written. Thus, if the old word green, after the year 1160, be spelt gray or grai, we may in general set it down to the North of the Great Line; if it be spelt grey or grei, to the South. Either gray or grey is now good English; in this respect the word (not being a proper name) stands quite by itself. The ch, that replaced c, spread easily over the South, but made its way slowly across the Line. The u in much, such, is a sure mark of the South, while mikel, swile, betoken a Northern writer; ælc or ilc prevails in the North, gehwylc or uch is the favourite Southern form; ech (our each) seems to be a compromise between the two. The Northern gilt and the Southern gult, two forms of the old gylt, combine in our quilt. If a writer uses both sets of forms; if he sometimes, not always, clips the Prefix to the Past Participle; if he uses both heo and she (illa), both hi and thei (illi), both he takes and he taketh; we may safely say that such a writer lived not far from the Great Sundering Line, and must have had much in common with North and South alike. Such writers we may trace from the compiler of the Essex Homilies in 1180 down to the blind Salopian bard of 1420.

¹ The proper name Alanus was written Aleyn by Robert of Gloucester, p. 459; it is found later both as Allan and Allen.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About 1120.)

Of all cities, none has better earned the homage of the English patriot, the English scholar, and the English architect, than Peterborough. Her Abbot was brought home, sick unto death, from the field of Hastings; her monks were among the first Englishmen that came under the Conqueror's frown. Her Minster suffered more from Hereward and his Danish friends than from her new French Abbot, Turold. At Peterborough our history was compiled, not in Latin but in English; the English that had grown up from the union of many generations of Danes and Angles, dwelling not far from Rutland. Without the Peterborough Chronicle, we should be groping in the dark for many years, in striving to understand the history of our tongue.

This Chronicle bears the mark of many hands. It is likely that various passages in it were copied from older chronicles, or were set down by old men many years after the events recorded had taken place. A fire, whereby the old Abbey and town of Peterborough were burnt to the ground in 1116, marks a date both in English Architecture and English Philology. After that year arose the noble choir, which has happily escaped the doom of Glastonbury and Walsingham. After that year, monks were sent out to copy the English chronicles of other Abbeys, and thus to replace the old Peterborough annals, which must have been

burnt in the fire.¹ The copyists thus handed down to us a mass of good English prose, a great contrast to the forged Charters, drawn up in the Midland speech of 1120, which were newly inserted in the Chronicle. It is with these last that my business lies, as also with the local annals of Peterborough, taken down from the mouths of old men who could remember the doughty deeds of Hereward and his gang fifty years earlier, when men of Danish blood in the East and North were still hoping to shake off William's yoke.

I now show how the Old English had changed in the Danelagh before the year 1131, at which date the first Peterborough compilers seem to have laid aside their pens. This reign of King Henry I. is the most interesting of all reigns to a student of English; the Yorkshire corruptions of the Tenth Century are seen travelling down to the South, a process that has always been going on in England, both in the forms and in the sounds of words.

In Vowels, the combination eaw was being replaced by eu; thus feawa became feuna, which was perhaps meant for the corrupt Dative feuan (few). This is in the forged Charter, inserted in the year 656. Feower becomes fower; heôra and him (in Latin, eorum and eis) now change into here and hem; this last we still use in phrases like 'give it 'em well;' and this Dative Plural

¹ I here follow Mr. Earle in his account of the Saxon Chronicles The cock and bull tales in the forged Charters of the Abbey are most amusing to any one who knows the true history of England in the Seventh Century. Somewhat later, King Edgar it supposed to use the word market in one of these Charters!

drove out the old Accusative hi. The combination en was replacing the older eow, for we find peudom; eôwer becomes iure (your): eo is turned into i, as betwix and liht for between and leoht; it sometimes changes into e, as ore for three. Fyr (ignis) appears as fir; a was soon to drop, for bed (jussit) becomes bed, sounded as we sound it now; and wfre (semper) becomes efre. combination ou, found in very few English words before the Conquest, comes more forward; it is pronounced as It becomes confused with o (a circumstance which has had a striking effect upon our English pronunciation); the old oder (aut) is seen written ouder; non, become nun, thenen. In the year 1124, heftning appears; and some old monk, who aimed at correctness, has put the u, the proper letter to be used, above the i in the manuscript. In the year 1123 the old Wealas becomes Wales.

As to changes in Consonants, the old h sometimes becomes ch, as burch for burh; this prevailed over the Eastern side of England, from London to York; though gh came later to be more used than ch. Our old δ was often laid aside for th, the latter being better known to the Normans. There is a tendency to get rid of the letter g in every part of a word; thus we find

Scir-gerefa becomes scirreve (sherriff)

Gyt Dæg " iett

Dæg Geátweard ,, dæi (day) ,, iateward (porter)¹

 $^{^1}$ G sometimes changed to y, and then centuries later, owing to East Anglian influence upon Standard English, changed back to q again; as we see in this word gate, still called by the Scotch yett.

Cæg	becomes	keie (key) 1
Dægnâs	,,	omines (thanes)
Ealmihtig	"	ælmihti
Pening	"	peni
Legdon	"	leidon
Sægde	"	seide
Læg	19	læi
Mæg	**	mæi
Geornden	,,	iornden (yearned)

F in the middle of a word is often replaced by v; thus we geafon becomes we gaven, and lufe becomes luve; this change was still more marked in the South.

In Nouns the Dative Plural in um has long vanished; there is a general break-up of case-endings; and the Nominative Plural in as (now es) is swallowing up all the other Declensions. The Definite and Indefinite forms of Adjectives are jumbled together, and the agreement of their cases with those of Substantives is no longer heeded.

Seolfer	becomes	siluer
Suná	,,	sunes (sons)
Naman	,,	nam (name)
Hlaford	2 ,,	lauerd (lord)
Heáfod	"	heafed (head)
Munecar		muneces (monks)
Wif	,,	wifes
Laga	**	laces (lakes)

We saw before that the old hus became husas; it is now huses, our houses. There is a curious instance

¹ Here the Northern k begins to replace the Old Southern c.

 $^{^2}$ The \hbar before a liquid now begins to drop, in the approved Anglian fashion.

of the way in which Nouns become Prepositions to be found in the year 1129; we read be pis half pa muntes, 'on this side the mountains.' Here we have the last word in the Accusative, and not in the Genitive; after this, a Preposition might easily be formed from beside, like behind or before. Rather earlier, in the year 1123, on an half him may be seen; we should now say, 'on one side of him.' The old swipre (dextera) was now giving way to right, just as the still older teso (in Gothic, taihswo) had long before made room for swipre.

There is a change in Pronouns; the Accusative hi (illam) is seen as hire (her) in the account of the year 1127. The Neuter Relative pæt is no longer confined to the Neuter Singular antecedent, but follows Plurals, just as we use it; thus in the forged Charter of the year 656 we find ealle pa ping \$\beta\$. ic wat. In the forged Charter inserted in the year 675, swa hvyle swa (quicunque) is pared down to hwile pe; a great change. Æle (quisque) becomes ilea, which still lingers in Scotland. We find al instead of the old Genitive Plural ealra (omnium).

The old English Definite Article se, seo, pæt, becomes hopelessly confused in its cases and genders; we are not far from the adoption of the to do duty for them all.

The Verb, as written at Peterborough in Henry the First's day, is wonderfully changed from what it was in the Confessor's time.

Old English.	Peterborough.
Lufige	Lufe (love)
Lufôde	luuede (loved)
Sceolde	scolde (should

Old English.	Peterborough.
\mathbf{Eom}	\mathbf{Am}
${ m Be}$ ô	be (sit)
Beoð	be (sunt)
Wæs	was
\mathbf{Y} rn \mathfrak{d}	renneth (currit)
$\operatorname{Bleowon}$	blewen (blew)
\mathbf{Heald}	held
\mathbf{H} abban	hafen (have)

The Infinitive now drops the n, as in the Northumbrian Gospels. In Pope Agatho's forged Charter of 675, we find 'ic wille segge,' I will say: this should have been secgan. The ge, prefixed to the Past Participle, now drops altogether in the Danelagh; the Danes, having nothing of the kind, forced their maimed Participle upon us. Still, the ge, slightly altered, is found to this day in shires where the Danes never settled. Thus, in Dorset and Somerset they say, 'I have a-heard,' the old gehyrde. One Past Participle, gehaten, still lingered on in the Midland for fourscore years after the paring down of all its brethren. No Teutonic country was fonder of this ge in old times than Southern England.

But we now come to the great change of all in Verbs, the Shibboleth which is the sure mark of a Midland dialect. The Old English Present Plural of Verbs ended in $a\delta$, as $w\hat{e}$ $h\hat{y}ra\delta$, $g\hat{e}$ $h\hat{y}ra\delta$, $h\hat{t}$ $h\hat{y}ra\delta$. Some have thought that, after the common English fashion, an n which used to follow the a, has been here cast out. But the peasants in some of our shires may have kept the older form $h\hat{y}ran\delta$; as we find the peasants on the Rhine using three different forms of the Present Plural; to

wit, liebent, liebet, and lieben.1 Bearing this parallel case in mind, we can understand how the Present Plural of the Mercian Danelagh came to end in en and not in ao. The Peterborough Chronicle, in Henry the First's reign, uses liggen, haven, for the Plural of the Present of Verbs: This is the Midland form, we even find lin for liquen. of which we have already seen an instance in the Rushworth Gospels. The Southern form would be liqueth, habbeth; a slight alteration of the Old English. Northern form, spoken beyond the Humber, would be liques, haves, as we saw in the Northumbrian Gospels. Another Shibboleth of English dialects is the Active Participle. In the North this ended in ande, the Danish form. In the Midland it retained the ende, the Old English form, though in Lincolnshire and East Anglia this was often supplanted by the Danish ande. In the South, it ended in inde, as we shall soon see. To take an example, we stand singing.

North.—We standes singande.
Milland.—We standen singende.
South.—We standeth singinde.

This Midland form of the Present Plural is still alive in Lancashire. The Southern form is kept in the famous Winchester motto, 'Manuers maketh Man.'

A strange idiom of the English Verb is seen in the forged Charter of 656, Nancod wurd it pon ælmihti, 'be it thanked to the Almighty;' hence comes our modern be hanged to him, and such like, where we form new Impersonal Verbs. In the year 1123 stands hit was don

¹ Garnett's Essays, p. 142.

Some pape to understanden; 'the Pope was made to understand;' hence comes, 'I do you to wit.' In 1127 stands the Reflexive, he beholte him. The hesitating par milte ben stands in the same year for par waron.

Some new Adverbs are seen; for hwi in the forged Charter of 656 is the forerunner of our wherefore; whyfor remains in some dialects. The old for ham (igitur) is now changed into pærfore; sôna becomes son (soon). The old on an had formerly meant 'in one body,' or 'continually;' in the year 1122 it gets the new sense 'at once;' in the South it took the form of anon, and is not yet dead. In 1129, a Pope dies, and ær he wære wel ded, two new Popes are chosen; here wel is used much as in the old well nigh. The Middle English delights in adding es to old Adverbs; æne and twiwa now becomes ænes (once) and twiges (twice).

As to Prepositions, we see jor to employed in a new sense in the year 1127; this follows a Scandinavian and French construction; we read, se kyng hit dide jor to havene sibbe, 'the king did it to have peace.' Hence the well-known 'What went ye out for to see?' We suppress the strengthening for in our modern speech. This for now gets a new sense, that of enim; here a Preposition becomes a Conjunction by dropping the pam or pat that used to follow. In the year 1123, we read that 'it did not last, for the bishop was against it;' forpam pe would have been used earlier. Ær also is used for ær pam. Our abutan (about) was now encroaching on the old ymbe; for in the forged Charter of 656, the phrase is used 'about three miles to a hamlet.'

Many words common to us and to our brethren on

the mainland, live on in the mouths of the common folk for hundreds of years ere they can win their way into books.1 Thus Mr. Tennyson puts into the mouth of his Lincolnshire farmer the word buzzard-clock for a certain insect. No such word as clock can be found in the Anglo-Saxon dictionaries, though it is tacked on by our peasantry to many other substantives, to stand for various insects. But on turning to an Old German gloss of wondrous age, we find 'chuleich, scarabæus.'2 We shall meet many other English words, akin to the Dutch and High German, which were not set down in writing until the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries, when these words replaced others that are found in the Anglo-Saxon dictionary. Some of the strangers are also used by Danish writers; it is thus often hard to tell whether a Teutonic word came to England with Hengist in the Fifth Century or with Hubba in the Ninth Century. Perhaps the safest distinction is to keep in mind the Great Sundering Line: in the case of strange Teutonic words that crop up to the North of this line, we should lean to Scandinavia: in the opposite case, to Friesland. Thus, in the account of the year 1118, we find wyrre, our war; this reminds us of the Old Dutch werren; in Latin, militare. 1124, the new form bærlic, our barley, replaces the old bere, which still lingers in Scotland. Cnawlece (acknowledge) is seen for the first time in a forgery inserted in the account of the year 963. As might be expected,

¹ Compare the Low Latin taliare (secare), singularis (aper), and many such words, which no good classic writer would employ.

² See Garnett's Essays, p. 68.

Scandinavian words, long used by the Dano-Anglian peasantry, were creeping into written English prose. The Danish bathe (ambo) drove out the Old English ba and butu. In the forged Charter inserted in the annals of 656, we read of the hamlet Grætecros; the last syllable of this comes from the Norse kross, and it was this word, not the French croice, that supplanted our Old Eiglish ród (rood). In 1128, we find the phrase, 'purh his micele wiles;' this new word, which is still in our mouths, comes from the Scandinavian væla (decipere). In '131, we see 'ba wæs tenn ploges;' the substantive is from the Scandinavian plôgr; English is the only Teupnic tongue that of old lacked this synonym for aratum; the true old sulh still lingers in Dorset. Scanlinavian fra replaces the Old English fram; and we sill say, 'to and fro.' Where an older writer would have written 'on de nord hulf,' the Peterborough Chronicler for 1131 changes on into o; we have already seen wiht; and we may still write either ashore or on shore. The old English seofopa had long been written siofuni in Yorkshire; it is now written seovepende (sevenh) in the Midland; our present form of the word is a coppound of Old English and Scandinavian. letter (was, as a general rule, being thrown out in the Midlard; but so strong was the Danish influence, that the firs letter of their Perfect gekk (ivit) was set before the Ok English synonym eôde, and gaed (so well known in the lootch Lowlands) is the result. The verb for-gede may be seen in the year 1129. This did not come to the Soth of the Great Sundering Line.

Onceffect of the mingling of Danes and Englishmen

was the simplifying of our construction of sentences, which had hitherto been cumbrous; the Verb had often come last, after the case governed by it. This was now altered; about the year 1125 the Peterborough English becomes most easy in construction. Our tongue was, in this respect at least, to rise far above her High German sister.

EAST MIDLAND DIALECT OF 1120.

Extracts from a forged Peterborough Charter inserted in the year 656):—

Da seonde se kyning æfter pone abbode pet he sues-Then sent the king after the abbot that he seedily telice scolde to him cumon. and he swa dyde. Darwæd should 80 didse kyning to pan abbode. La leof Sæxulf. ic haue geeond Lo, lovedæfter pe for mine saule purfe. and ic hit wile p. wæl soul's need it will secgon for hwi. Min brodor Peada and min leoue reond why brother loved friend Oswi ongunnen an mynstre Criste to loue and Sancte minster to Christ's glory Petre. Oc min brober is faren of bisse line. swa swa Crist gone from lifewolde. Oc ic wile pe gebidden, la leoue freond pat hii pray to they wirce æuostlice on pere werce, and ic pe wile finden may work diligently the erto gold and siluer. land and ahte. and al premeto goods

- behofeð. Þa feorde se abbot ham and ongan to wircene.

 behoves went home began
- Swa he spedde swa him Crist huŏe, swa pet in feuna so granted few
- geare wæs þat mynstre gare. Þa þa kyning heorda þæt years ready. When heard
- gesecgon. þa wærd se swiðe glæd. heot seonden geond said was he right glad he bade through
- al hi peode æfter alle his pægne. æfter ærcebiscop. and his people thanes
- æfter biscopes, and æfter his eorles, and æfter alle pa
- pe Gode luuedon. pat hi scoldon to him cumene. and that
- seotte þa dæi hwonne man scolde þat mynstre gehalegon.

 set day when hallow
 - And ic bidde ealle pa pa æfter me cumen, beon hi mine all those that be they
- sunes; beon hi mine breðre. ouþer kyningas þa æfter me
 or kings
- cumen, pat ure gyfe mote standen. swa swa hi willen our gift may
- been delnimende on pa ece lif. and swa swa hi wilen partakers in the eternal
- ætbeorstan þet ece wite. Swa hwa swa ure gife ouþer escape punishment. Whosoever
- o)re godene manne gyfe wansiað, wansie him seo of other good men lessens the
- heofenlice iateward on heofenrice. And swa hwa swa heavenly gateward heaven-kingdom
- hit eces. ece him seo heofenlice iateward on heofenrice.
- Das sintion pa witnes pe pær wæron. and pa pat gewriten
 These are wrote

mid here fingre on Cristes mele. and letten mid here with their cross agreed

tunge. . . Des writ wæs gewriton æfter ure. Drihtnes acennednesse DCLXIIII. þes kyningas birth

Wulhferes seouepende gear. pes ærcebiscopes Deusdedit seventh

IX gear. Leidon ha Godes curs. and ealre halgane curs.

They laid then saints'
and al cristene folces, he ani hing undyde hat her wes

gedon, swa beo hit seid alle. Amen.

done so be it say

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND. (About a.d. 1120.)

Ure hlaford almihtiz God wile and us hot pat we hine lufie, and of him smage and spece, naht him to mede ac hus to freme and to fultume, for him seize alle hiscefte.

Gif non man ne poht of Gode. non ne spece of him. Gif non of him ne spece non hine ne lufede. Gif non hine ne lufede. non to him ne come. ne delende. nere of his eadinesse. nof his merhõe. Hit is wel swete of him to specene. penche gie æle word of him swete. al swa an huni tiar felle upe giure hierte. Heo is hefone liht and eorõe brihtnesse. loftes leom. and all hiscefte gimston. anglene blisse. and mancenne hiht and hope. richtwisen strenhope. and niedfulle frouer.

¹ Old English Homilies, edited by Dr. Morris (Early English Text Society). p. 217. These go on to p. 245. The passage I give above is an priginal one of the transcriber's, written long after Ælfric's time.

Page 219. Seraphim birninde ober anhelend. God lét hi habben ázen chíre, to chíesen.

" 221. Forgáng pu ones treówes westm.

,, 235. He cweð a wunder worder.

" 223. pa weran bode deadlice.

,, 225. Ic wille halden pe and ti wif.

Ic wille settan mi wed (covenant).

, 233. He us foroteh alse is cyldren. Feder, of wam we sielle habbeo.

" 235. Bárn of hire ogen innoð. Gif ic fader ham. Wer laðieres móche.

,, 239. Wie zéie, wie dredness wurð. Birne alse longe as ic lefie.

This Southern English, as anyone may see, is far more archaic than the dialect of Peterborough. After the year 1000, Ælfric had written many homilies in the English of his day, and these were popular in our land long after his death. A clean sweep, it is true, was made of a Latin sentence of his, wherein he upholds the old Teutonic idea of the Eucharist, and overturns the newfangled Transubstantiation, a doctrine of which Lanfranc, seventy years later, was the great champion in England.¹ But otherwise Ælfric's teaching was thought sound, and his homilies were more than once turned into the corrupt English of succeeding centuries. We have one of these versions, drawn up about the time of the forged Peterborough Charters; this is headed by the extract given

¹ See Faber's Difficulties of Romanism (Third Edition, p. 260) as to erasures made in Ælfric's text by theologians of a later age.

above. The East Midland, with its stern contractions, is like the Attic of Thucydides; the Southern English, with its love of vowels and dislike of the clipping process, resembles the Ionic of Herodotus. The work we have now in hand, being written far to the South of the Mercian Danelagh, holds fairly well by the Old English forms; thus, instead of the Peterborough &e, we find the older se, si, pat; and we sometimes meet with the old Dative Plural in um, though the old Genitive is often replaced by the form with of, and the endings of Verbs are often clipped. A guess may be given as to the place where these Homilies were adapted to the common speech. Forms like fer (ignis) and gelt (scelus) point to some shire near Kent. The combination ie, used by King Alfred, is here found; for chiesen (eligere), hiert (cor), rien (pluvia), and bienn (esse), with many similar words, occur; this ie does not appear later, except in Kent and Essex. We may perhaps pitch upon London as the place where these Homilies were compiled; we know that many Danes were settled in that city, drawn thither by the same attraction that allured them to Havre and Waterford long before King Canute's day. It would seem that from this Danish settlement some little clipping and paring of English words must have resulted; in the present work we see the an of the Infinitive pared away, as in come (venire), zief (dare), write (scribere), do (facere), abide (manere). In other parts of the South, the old ending of the Infinitive lingered on until Caxton's press. and even later; the poetic Earl of Surrey writes 'I dare well sayen,' and there is an instance of the same form thirty years later still in a common letter. The endings of other tenses of the Verb are clipped; we find $\alpha \hat{e}r$ we $q\hat{o}$ and wer (erant). As to this last Verb, I would remark that we have turned the Singular number was into was, the Plural number waron into were; the corruption of the old diphthong is due, in the former case to the North, in the latter to the South. Another strong token of Danish influence is in page 219; we there see not only the Old English form tiode (decimus), but the Danish n intruding into the word, as teonde; the Danish sefentize at p. 229 replaces the true Old English hund seofontia. The word a (lex) was dropping out of use; so the Danish laga (our law) is given as an explanation of the older word.

New forms are found here which have already appeared in the North, such as pu ahst (debes), bode, bread, for (enim), perfor, anoper, seid, anon, na ping, he had ible (he hath been), had, he werete, me (man), for to, abec (in Gothic ibukai, our aback); in the is shortened into ide. Shakspeare has 'digged i' the dark.' English dislikes n coming before ath, and long before this time had turned the old Aryan danta or tontha into tod, our tooth. Hwær is made to do duty for a Relative as in the North; in p. 241 we read of 'pe funte wer (ubi) he ifulled his.' Of is used most freely instead of the old Genitive. The Northern combination ei is found, as in peigne and eiger; we have not very often kept this.'

I have hitherto spoken of Danish and Northern in-

¹ We keep the true old sound of *ei* in words like *eight*; but *either* is hopelessly degraded; it is sometimes given as a puzzle in pronunciation, whether the *ei* here should be sounded like the German *ei* or the French *i*. Our *ai* preserves the true old sound.

fluence, as seen in these Homilies, and as bearing upon the question of the place where they were written. I now mark other new letters and forms, here to be seen.

The old a was corrupted into a or e; instead of weter we find both water and weter. The diphthong sometimes became ai or ex: we see both mai and mex for the old meeq (possum); cet (manducavit) becomes ceat; on the other hand, lædde (duxit) becomes ledde. The a was sometimes turned into e, for bes (the Latin hi) replaces $b\hat{a}s$; the u sometimes became e (a mark of the South East), for we find evyl and bedele, instead of the old yfel and bydel: King Alfred's ie appears once more, and was used henceforward in Kent and Essex; we here see chiese (p. 114) for ceosan. We find a change that is for ages the sure mark of a Southern dialect; namely, the turning of i or u into u. Thus cwic, mycele, and swipen 1 here become cwuce, mucele, and swupen. This change has not greatly affected our Standard English, except that we use the Southern much and such instead of the old mycel and swylc. In Anglo-Saxon dictionaries we often find two sets of forms for one word; as wiht, wuht, byrig, burug, bigan, bugan; it may be that this difference of vowels, if carefully searched out, would help to fix the shire where the works in question were compiled. The vowel i is found to the North, the vowel u to the South, of the Great Sundering Line; it is strange that these are replaced by e near Shrewsbury and also near London. It is curious to mark in Stratmann's Dictionary the three forms taken in various shires by words like cun, fur, sunne, gult.

¹ This old word survives among cricketers only, who make good surpes.

In these Homilies we see berieles, cenne, and melstanent; the first e in each of these words is something new in the South, and we still keep the sound of this e in beriel (burial), and also the sound of the old i in pri and isi (three and see). We further find o replaced by u, for tu us (ad nos) may be seen, which tu we still pronounce as it is written in these Homilies. No English word has undergone more changes than sceawian in its progress to our present show; we here see sceawode become scewede (p. 227); eow is seen as zeu. There is a tendency to drop the vowel altogether at the end of the Weak Participle Passive; gelæfod becomes zelifil, almost as we pronounce left now.

The letter o in this work begins to supplant the old a, though not often. This corruption is found in full vigour a hundred years later both in Suffolk and Dorset. Some town lying nearly half-way between the two shires may have given birth to the new form. We now find mor, long, non, ogen (own), and haligost, for the old már, lang, nán, ágen, and hálig gást. Moreover, as we learn from the Conqueror's English Charter to London, the great city was the abode of a large French-speaking population. From these men (Becket's father was one of them), it seems likely that their English fellow-subjects learned to turn the hard c into the soft ch; ceósan and rice into chiésen and riche. Long before this time, the French castel had become chastel.1 The ch comes into other parts of the word; moche, a form long peculiar to the London neighbourhood, appears as well as mucele.

¹ The French escole (schola) appears in these Homilies (p. 243) as iscole,

The changes of the a and the c, most sparingly found as yet, are the two main corruptions that our Standard English has borrowed from the South. There is another sound of ch found here, as at Peterborough, in words like burch, richtwis, and lichte; the Old and New are mingled in zeworhcte; this ch when following vowels took the hard sound, which it still keeps in the Scotch Lowlands. The h is of near kin to c; it is here often wrongly used, or dropped at the beginning of words; we see wa for hwa, wie for hwyle, ham (sum) for am; wat (quid) has held its ground in London till this day. Let us hope that speakers of good English will never drop the sound of h in hweet, hwat. The g undergoes change, as at Peterborough; genoh and agén become innoh and azênes; we also see ozeo (debemus) and modinesse. The Peterborough twiges (bis) has become twies; this es was to be constantly added on to words for the next 140 years; azênes, as I said before, replaces agên. The q is softened into y or i, especially at the beginning of Past Participles. The letter z appears to replace the old hard g, and it lasted for 350 years; we see ze and zeur for the old ge and eower. This new letter adds to our store of words; we may talk both of a guild and of the yield of fields, both words coming from the old gildan (solvere). There is a curious interchange of letters in his acennende (generatio); this last word stands for the old verbal noun acennung. Fourscore years later the aforesaid interchange of q and d was to work a baleful effect upon the old Active Participle. The n also is much clipped: on or an is often pared down into a, and our shortened Indefinite Article is now first found; min and pin are

cut down into mi and ti; the old mylnstan becomes melstanent (p. 241); after this the miln, still found in the Scottish Lowlands, became mulle in Gloucestershire, about 1300. We have still both Milner and Miller as proper names. The f is also cast out; $ha\delta$ (habet) replaces $haf\delta$; there is also had. But no word underwent so much clipping as ealswa; it is here cut down into alse, and then into as, the speediest of all our changes. We find in these Homilies forms like $alse\ long\ se\ and\ alse\ long\ as$; the w is thrown out of swa, for we read $sa\ ful\ (p. 233)$. The l is moreover thrown out in swylc, hwylc, and mycel, which now become swice, wice, and moche; further changes were to come forty years later. The letter s is dropped at the end of the word, for byrgels (sepulchrum) becomes beriel, whence comes our burial.

On turning from the changes in sound to the changes in the words themselves, we find that the u, with which many Nouns formerly ended, is turned into en; cildru becomes cyldren. The South of England, unlike the North, always loved the Plural in en, of which the Germans are so fond. Hatrede is found for the first time, as well as hate. In page 231 the Substantive is dropped altogether after the Adjective, pat hi alle be pe lâtst to pa dezie per were; here time would in former days have followed lâtst; we should now say, 'at the latest.' The whole sentence quoted is worth study; we still say 'you must be there to the day,' a very old usage of to. The of is used more freely than ever; we see not only the old his gastes zife, but the new gief of his gaste (the gift of his Spirit); there is also sicer of (sure of), where

the of expresses the Latin de (anent); this sicer had not appeared since Alfred's time.

A startling change has taken place in Pronouns; we now find the first use of one of our New English Relatives. Hwû and hwyle had never been so employed of yore; they answered to the Latin quis, not to qui; but our tongue had now come under French influence. As yet, the Genitive and Dative only of hwû, not the Nominative, are used in the Relative sense. We saw before that hwæt in Old English answers to aliquid; we now see it used for quà...quà, the Romance que...que; in page 237, we read, that they beod icôme, wat frend, wat fû. In the year 1300 we shall meet with a further step in the development of this what. Enough is now followed by the Gerundial Infinitive; æle had innoh to donne (p. 239).

There are some changes in the Verb; we see the true Southern Shibboleth, the Active Participle ending in inde, as birnind for the old birnende. Still, so early as the year 1000, we find ûtgangynde in St. Matt. ix. 31. Another mark of the South is the clipping the n at the end of Past Participles; we here find icome (ventum), zecnôwe (notum), and others, such as ibi for gewesen. This in a short time prevailed all over Southern England; and we may still hear 'it is broke,' and such like, as In these Homilies we find come I have said before. (venerunt), come (venire), and icome (ventum), all three. This is a specimen of Danish clipping. The sentence macede hine blive (p. 233) shows the construction that led to our make merry. The verb dôn is used for ponere; don hine into piesterness is in p. 239.

In the older English, 'to live life' may be found; we now further see, deað swelten.

One change, here seen very clearly, is so strange that I must return to it. An Old English word sometimes, in this period of Middle English, is split up into two or three different forms, each with its own meaning. Thus, we here find ealswa becoming the parent, not only of also (etiam), but of as (ut). Chancer sometimes uses both so and as for the Latin ut in the same sentence. This splitting is called bifurcation or two-pronging. Thus we find an splitting up into one and a, a process often repeated. Some of the grammars, which delude the youth of England, still tell us that the article a becomes an before a consonant!

A few lines on The Grave, printed by Mr. Thorpe in his 'Analecta Anglo-Saxonica,' p. 142, seem to belong to this time. Here we find for the first time in English the word lah or lage (humilis): 'Hit bið unheh and lah; 'ŏe hele-wages beoŏ lage.' The Scandinavian and Frisian have words akin to this. Fourscore years later, we find the verb to laghenn (to lower); and almost two hundred years further on, we light on bi loogh (below). We thus in Chaucer's time compounded a new preposition out of an adjective.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About 1160.)

We now skip thirty years, and once more return to the neighbourhood of Rutland. The Peterborough Chronicle seems to have been laid aside for many years after 1131. England was at this time groaning under some of the worst sorrows she has ever known; we have come to the nineteen winters when Stephen was King. As soon as these evil days were over, and England had begun her happy course (this has lasted, with but few checks, for more than seven hundred years¹), the Peterborough monks went on with their Chronicle. Their language was becoming more and more corrupt; but the picture they set before us of King Stephen's reign is a marvel of power, and shows the sterling stuff that a Monastic writer often had in him.

The English, which we are now to weigh, dates from about the year 1160. We here find forms that remind us of the North, such as wua sua (quicunque); we still pronounce the u, though we write o, in who; all replaces the former eall; k is found instead of c, as smoke and snake. From the South came forms such as the clipped Infinitive, cumm, sei; also onoh (satis), azenes, alse, hi namm; get (gotten); in these two last the inflection is gone. The h is clipped, for wile and it replace hwile and hit; the Southern o encroaches upon a, for more, onne, replace the old mâr, \hat{a}_n ; this last is sometimes cut down into a. clipped: there is both nan treathe and na justise. the Midland Participle in end is kept, as ridend. Enough, as in the South, is followed by the Gerundial Infinitive. The old eow is changed into eu and eo; for we see both treuthe and treothe for treowo, towards the beginning of the year 1137. We still keep both truth and troth.

¹ Even our few civil wars have commonly in the end furthered the good estate of the realm.

As to new combinations of Vowels: a is often replaced by a; as he bare, he was, he spac; on slep becomes an slep, not far from our asleep; eo becomes u, for sculde (should) replaces sceolde; it becomes e, as in held (tenuit). Nearo is turned into nareu. The combination ou is seen, which was in the end to encroach so much upon the old u, as is now seen in our (ur), house (hus), and many such. We now find Gloucestre, nouver, Poitou, Angou, following the ouver (over) of 1120; the extended use of this ou must be due to France. The true East Midland system of contraction is seen in the French word castles, written instead of castelas.

As to Substantives: nefan becomes neves; the Irish peasantry still keep this Teutonic form, nevvies, rejecting our French-born word nephews. The Dative in um is sadly mauled; bi the fet replaces bi fotum; we also see

mid fæn men. The Dative and Accusative are hopelessly confused; in the year 1132, we read, iaf pæt abbotrice an prior; in 1135, pais he makede men.

In Verbs: can and cuthe are used freely in the sense of the old may and might, just as Tyndale was to employ them later. In 1132, we read, he dide him faren (he made him fare); in the old time, the Gerund with to would have been used after dide, and not this Infinitive. In the beginning of 1140, we read. he iaf him also he dide alle oore; this is a continuation of the idiom employed long before by King Alfred. At the end of the year 1140 is found, he helde him for fader and he him for sune; here the verb is left out, which should stand between the seventh and eighth words: we catch a glimpse of the future freedom of construction in the New English. The transitive hôn is a Strong verb, and its rightful Perfect is heng; in the year 1137 this Perfect is confused with the intransitive henged (hanged); the jumbling of these two Perfects is often found in our day.

The word æfre (semper) is prefixed to ælc, which last already contained within itself å, another form of semper; ævric (every) is the result; a hint of this word has appeared before. But this newfangled addition ever was usually to come at the end of words. The word at is also often here prefixed to other words, as alsuilc als, and this became a common practice later. We have before met with 'some of the scribes;' we now read of mani of pe castles.

What was before written ealgeador (omnino) now becomes altegædere. A new phrase, nevre mare, is found;

here more is applied to express time. The word efsones, with the usual adverbial es at the end, is a new word which lasted many hundred years in England as eftsoons.

A new construction of Prepositions is seen in candles to aten bi. We have before seen the Relative omitted, coming before a Gerundial Infinitive (see page 71), but we now further see, besides the omission of the Relative, the Preposition made the last word in the sentence. This gives wonderful freedom to our construction of sentences; Orrmin, forty years later, was often to imitate this idiom, which seems to be Danish.

The noht (non), which had already been used with verbs instead of the old ne, is now seen once more, as in 1132, was it noht lang. We find to pæt (usque ad) used; and also the Anglian and Danish til, which is now no longer followed by pæt; til hi iafen up comes at the beginning of 1137; thus til imitated the new construction of for, and was soon to make an end of the Old English oð pæt (usque).

The old pe hwile pe lasted down to 1300 in Gloucestershire, but it is pared down at Peterborough; for we read wile Stephne was king; thus an old substantive is made to express the Latin dum.

More Danish forms crop up; we find cyrceiærd (kirk-yard) formed on the Danish pattern, instead of the Old English cirictume. When King Stephen lays hold of Earl Randolph, he is said to act through wicci rede. This is the first appearance in our island of the common word wicked, a word derived by Mr. Wedgwood from Lapland or Esthonia. The verb take is employed in its old Scandinavian sense. In that tongue, hann tôk at

yrkja means 'he took (began) to work.' In the Chronicle for 1135 we read David toc to wessien. A glance at Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary will show many senses of take, which are not found in Old English books, but which are now common to England and to Iceland. In 1135 we see tocan pa oore and helden her castles (the others took and held); this take replaced the old fang (a verb that still lingers in Devonshire); we hear that King Henry II. toc to pe rice.

There is a new word, scatter, akin to the Dutch schetteren. King Stephen, we are told, in the year 1137, had treasure, but scattered sotlice, that is 'dispersed it like a fool.'

EAST MIDLAND DIALECT OF 1160.

Extract from the Peterborough Chronicle for the year 1137, compiled about twenty years later.

 p_a the sulkes undergreton pat he milde man was and when traitors understood

softe and god and na iustise ne dide. pa diden hi alle

wunder. Hi hadden him manred maked and athes homage made oaths

suoren, ac hi nan treuthe ne heolden, alle hi wæron forbut held

sworen, and here treothes forloren, for æuric rice man forfeited every mighty

his castles makede and agenes him heolden and fylden against

pe land ful of castles. Hi suencten suyoe pa uurecce oppressed sore wretched

men of pe land mid castelweorces. pa pe castles uuaren castle-works were

maked. pa fylden hi mid deoules and yvele men. pa

namen hi þa men þe hi wenden þat ani god hefden. bathe tock they thought property had

be nihtes and be dæies. carlmen and wimmen. and diden men put

heom in prisun efter gold and sylver. and pined heom

untellendlice pining, for ne uuæren næure nan martyrs unspeakable torture no

swa pined alse hi wæron. Me henged up bi the fet and as they

smoked heom mid ful smoke. me henged bi the thumbes. foul

other bi the hefed. and hengen bryniges on her fet. Me
or head hung burning things

dide cnotted strenges abuton here hæved, and uurythen ${\it head}$ ${\it twisted}$

to pat it gæde to pe hærnes. Hi diden heom in quarwent brains prison

terne. par nadres and snakes and pades wæron inne. and where adders toads

drapen heom swa. Sume hi diden in crucet hus. pat is killed Some house

in an ceste pat was scort and nareu and undep, and dide

chest short shallow

scærpe stanes perinne. and prengde pe man perinne. pat sharp stones crushed

Thim bræcon all pe limes. In mani of pe castles wæron broke limbs

lof and grim pat wæron rachenteges, pat twa other thre neck-bonds or

men hadden onch to bæron onne. Pat was sua maced.

pat is fæstned to an beom. and diden an scærp iren abuton pa mannes prote and his hals, pat he ne myhte nowiderneck in any

wardes ne sitten ne lien ne slepen. oc bæron al pat iren.

Mani pusen hi drapen mid hungær. I ne canne i ne thousands

mai tellen alle pe wundes. ne alle pe pines pat hi diden wrecce men on pis land. and pat lastede pa XIX. wintre wile Stephne was king. and ævre it was unerse and worse

uuerse. . . .

1154.—On þis gær wærd þe king Steph. ded. and bewas

byried per his wif and his sune wæron bebyried æt Fauresfeld. pæt minstre hi makeden. Pa pe king was ded. ða was pe eorl beionde sæ. and ne durste nan man don oper bute god. for pe micel eie of him.

awe

The year 1135. Micel ping sculde cumm.

Æuric man sone rævede. .

Wua sua bare his byrthen. .

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.

(About 1160.)1

Ure feder pet in heouene is, pet is al soo ful iwis. weo moten to peos weordes iseon. pet to liue and to saule gode beon.

Old English Homilies, First Series (Early English Text Society), p. 55.

pet weo been swa his sunes iborene. pet he beo feder and we him icorene. bet we don alle his ibeden. and his wille for to reden. Loke weo us wid him misdon burh beelzebubes swikedom he haueð to us muchel nið. alle pa deies of ure siò. abuten us he is for to blenchen. Mid alle his mihte he wule us swenchen. Gif we leornio godes lare. benne of bunched hit him sare. Bute we bileuen ure ufele iwune. Ne kepeð he noht þet we beon sune. Gif we clepied hine feder penne. al bet is us to lutel wunne. halde we godes laze. pet we habbed of his saze.

Page 75. Ic ileue in god þe fede(r) almihti. scuppende and weldende of heouene and of orðe and of alle iscefte. and ich ileue on þe helende crist. his enlepi sune. ure lauerd. he is ihaten helende for he moncun helede of þan deþliche atter. þet þe alde deouel blou on adam and on eue and on al heore ofsprinke. swa þet heore fif-falde mihte hom wes al binumen. þet is hore lust. hore loking. hore blawing, hore smelling, heore feling wes al iattret.

Page 53. Is afered leste peo eoroe hire trukie.

- ,, 63. For pe saule of him is forloren.
- , 73. Ech mon habbe mot.
- " " Heo sculen heore bileue cunnen . .
- ,, 83. De sunne schined per purh . .
- " Ho nimeð al swuch.

Page 127. Muchele mare luue he scawede us.

- ,, 141. Der stod a richt halue and a luft.
- .. 145. Techeð us bi hwiche weie.
- , 179. Were we swa vuele bicauhte.
- " 129. Him puhte bicumelic pet we . . . weren alesede.

The poem, part of which I have set out above, is the earliest long specimen of an English riming metre that is still popular. Having been compiled somewhere about 1160, the work stands about half-way between the Beowulf and the last work of Mr. Tennyson. The French riming lays, of which our Norman and Angevin rulers were so fond, must have been the model followed by the English bard, whoever he was. In the same volume are many Homilies, which give us a good idea of the English spoken in the South at this time. The following are the main points of difference between them and the Homilies of Henry the First's time.

The old diphthong æ, beloved of our fathers, was being got rid of in the South; it is here replaced by e, ei, and ea; læwede becomes lewed (indoctus); ægðer becomes eiðer; while sæ, æfre, lædan, become sea, eaver,

¹ The English rimes, written before the Norman Conquest, must have been nothing but an exercise of ingenuity:—

Flah mah fliteð, Flan man hwiteð, Burg sorg biteð, Bald ald ðwiteð, Wræc-fæc wriðað.

This is a long poem, printed by Conybeare, Anglo-Saxon Poetry, p. xxiii.

leaden. The maintenance of the ea, so often used by us, is due to the Wessex shires; they even changed the French pais into peace. The old combination ow, sounded like the French ou, was also being altered; this may have come from imitating French spelling. Our word Stow was spelt in Doomsday Book as Stou, as I have already said; we now see eower (vester) become eour. We also find strew, newe, bireusiao. The sound iou (pronounced as in the name Riou), was a favourite one with our fathers; but we may remark that, when it comes after r, we now almost always sound it as if it was simply ou. The beginning of this change may be seen in these Homilies; we find rouve (our ruth) in page 157; this seems a compromise between the Old English hreow and the Danish Trowe replaces treowe at page 69; and heow $hrud\delta$. (color) becomes hou, our hue, at page 83. This same change is seen later in a Dorsetshire poem of 1240. We find both the old sound bleu and the new sound blou (flavit). In page 85 is nowe (novus), while newe occurs elsewhere; people still sometimes talk of what they call noos. A is here changed into e, as penne for panne (tunc). It is still oftener changed into o, a sure mark of the South; we see among, mow, one, bemoved (manned, page 23). The most curious thing is the change of a into u; at page 157 is found wume (væ mihi); while the old wa is seen in the sentence before. The old prôwode (passus est) is now written prouvede (page 17). The u, replacing e and i, is always a token of the shires to the South of the Great Sundering Line. This change comes very often in the Homilies. We here see uch instead of the Midland alc or each; and blupeliche for our blithely. The old eaw was now written eu and ewe; we find deu and pewe for the former deaw and peaw. In page 103 stands slewő (sloth); and in page 107 comes slawő; this au was now coming in, and must have had the sound of the French ou; we light upon blauwen, naut, and bicauhte. The old gylt becomes gult in the South.

Many English words are now changed; as-

Old.	New.
Hæs Gescy Lêgere Sunnandæg Feowerða Geolo Handgeweorce Seocnes Slýð Wylð	Heste Sceos (shoes) Lihgare (liar) Sunedei Forth Geluwe (yellow) Hondiwork Sicness Slageð (slayeth) Welleð

The letter g interchanges with b, for geleafa here takes its modern form bileve (belief); just as gelitian was to become belittle; the English Imperative geyc (auge) is seen in Gothic as biauk. The g is also softened, as we saw before, into z or y, and this rather later became w in many cases. Sagu is here seen as saze; we still have the phrase 'I have said my say.' In page 35 esca replaces axe. H is sometimes misused; hester stands for Easter, and alf for half. At page 139 the Peterborough averic (quisque) is found in its new shape, efri; the East Midland corruptions were working down Southwards. The earlier lengten becomes leinten, our Lent; and hnute (nux) becomes nute. The new French c is used like the

English s in milce (mercy) and milcien (misereri). Hitherto near (propius) had been the Comparative of neah (prope); but we now see a form like fir and near (far and near) at page 137; the near points to Scandinavia.

France was now dictating much of our pronunciation, and many vowels must in this age have been sounded in the same way on either side of the Channel. Ch replaces c in countless instances. Cerran (verti) now becomes cherre; we still say 'on the jar.' or ajar. We also find chirche, leche, diche, teache, biseche (beseech). Moreover, we see, in page 83, the two forms scine and schine), the last being a new sound now creeping into English. So popular did it become, that two hundred years later we forced French verbs in ir to take the sound. as perish. But the French cabus has become cabbage, just as Perusia became Perugia. The old fiscas is now seen as fisses. The corrupt forms of 1120, swice, wice, and moche, now became swulc, swuche, and sulche (such); wilche, and hwiche; muche and muchel. Ælc (quisque) takes its modern shape of elche and eche; and an is fastened on to it, though as yet very seldom. Thus, at page 91, we read 'heo it delden elchun;' that is, to each one. Latost (ultimus) is cut down to leste at page 143; and by læs be is shortened into leste, which we still keep; this is like throwing out the quo in the Latin quominus. If replaces the old gif; the first is the Scandinavian ef, the Gothic io.

We sometimes find v substituted for f at the be-

¹ Pickwick will keep this alive for ever. Mr. Justice Stareleigh can have been no student of Anglo-Saxon.

ginning of a word, as vette for fette, page 81. It is the influence of the South-Western shires that makes us write viven and vat instead of the old fixen and fet; it is a wonder that we do not write vox for fox.

In Substantives, the corruption of Plurals goes on; wif (mulieres) becomes wifes. The old endings were dying out, for in page 83 hælend becomes helere, our healer.

We see a new Adjective in page 27, Godfurht, our God-fearing.

In Verbs, we sometimes find the Midland been and hafon, instead of the Southern beoth (sunt), and habben (habent); this seems to show that these Homilies could not have been written far South of the Great Sundering Line; it may be, at Oxford; the Participle iturned becomes iturnd at page 157, with the clipped sound that we now use, except at church. The Perfect ahte, not the Present age, stands for debet; this had travelled to the South from Yorkshire. We have the first hint of our ado (at do) at page 77; mon mid me nefde to donne; 'man had not to (at) do with me.' We see at page 71 a new idiom, pole us to bewepen; this would have been earlier, 'suffer that we weep.' Again, at page 59, fuzel lete he makede; 'he made fowl lout (stoop);' this would have been earlier, 'he did fowl to lout.' What was before simply læt þæt ufel, is now let þet uvele beon; we still say 'let him be,' as well as 'let him alone.' There is a new idiom in page 45; weren efterward milce, 'were after mercy;' a construction strangely different from the Latin petebant. The most startling of all new idioms come at page 11; we are there told that Moses fasted,

and ec Crist hit walde habben idon. In the older English wolde don must have stood for both faceret and fecisset; we now see the first attempt made at forming our usual Pluperfect Subjunctive. The new idiom did not become common in England until 1290; the above sentence of 1160 seems something born out of due time. It is a French construction, most alien to the old Teutonic.

As to Pronouns: we read sum of pe sede in page 133; sum of might have been followed of old by a Plural, but it is now for the first time followed by a Singular. We have seen the new Singular Relative hwa used in the Homilies of 1120; we now see the Plural of this, zeten purh hwam, 'gates through which' (page 153), and we find moreover the neuter hwat employed for the first time in a Relative sense in Southern England; Godes worde, for hwat (per quod) he scal vorsaken, &c. (page 81). We should now say which, not what; but it was a long time before this was settled; we may still say, 'what (quod) I did was this.'

Change is at work among the Adverbs. At page 35 we see ic walde fein pinian, 'I would fain pine;' here the Adjective is used as an adverb, (libenter). At p. 53, we find in two lines both the new alse feire alse and the older swa sone se; here the swa of right has no business to be. Overlicor now becomes over-weis (page 31). The Latin quum was of old Englished by pa or po, more seldom by hwænne (quando); but in these Homilies when often translates quum, and three centuries later it swept away its rivals altogether.

As to Prepositions: of is in constant use, a sure mark of the decay of Old English; saule of him is put for his soul, simply to eke out a rime (hence came our for the

life of me); the of is sometimes used as an Adverb, with a new spelling, as at page 29, zif pin hefet were offe. Here our New English has split one old word into two prongs, of and off. Moreover, we turn this off into an Adjective, the off horse, an off day. Before this time, of was set before the substantive, standing for material; as wrought of yold. But now this idiom is stretched further; at page 123, we find he makede us free of peowan; 'he made us free instead of our being thralls.' At page 87, we see an early instance of go to; we read iwende Godes engel to. We find up followed by another Preposition. snawe up et mine chinne, 'snow up to my chin.' At (ad) and to are always interchanging; at page 143 comes he makeð twa to an, 'he maketh two (to be) at one,' an idiom kept in our Bible. We find not only burh, but This had four hundred years' purhut (throughout). start of the corresponding High German durchaus. The old on efn now takes an es at the end of the word (a process often repeated in Middle English), and is seen at page 55 as anundes, the later anentis or anent.

We see wa is me in page 35; the Scotch prefer the old wea to wa, in pronouncing this Interjection, the Latin væ mihi.

As to the pronunciation of these Homilies: there is wik (hebdomada), grik (Græcus), feren (ire), spec (dixit); foreshadowing our modern utterance of these words. We find many instances of words getting a new meaning. Bicuman, which of old stood for accidere (what will become of us?) now Englishes both decere and fieri (pages 45 and 47); in the latter case, the French devenir must have been imitated. The old hlot

meant nothing but sors; a new meaning is given to the word at page 31, where we read of a pridde lot (tertia nars); this comes from the Scandinavian hluti, differing from hlutr (sors). The word hrædre (rather) meant citius; it now gets the further meaning of potius; at page 45 is milcie pes pe redper pet, &c. The old sælig meant beatus; in these Homilies it takes the sense of sapiens, page 31; but this meaning is not found elsewhere; the word is in our day degraded as stultus, our silly, the exact opposite of what is seen here. that this is almost the only instance of one English word acquiring two directly opposite meanings at different times. We shall further see that it meant both felix and infelix in the Thirteenth Century. The old scéadan (separare) now gets the sense of fundere (page 157); the former meaning still lingers in watershed: Stælwyro used to mean 'worth stealing;' at page 25 it gets its new sense, validus: perhaps it was confounded with The verb sceáwian loses its old meaning $sta\delta elferh\delta$. spectare, and gets its new sense monstrare, though we still call spectaculum a show. We know that the word afford has puzzled our antiquaries; we find it employed in these Homilies, page 37: 'do pine elmesse of pon pet pu maht Bishop Pecock uses avorthi in this sense iforðien.' three hundred years later. The old gefordian meant only 'to further or help.' Here, at least, we need not seek for help from France.1 The substantive cachepol may be seen, in page 97, applied to St. Matthew's old trade. The verb catch is found for the first time with its Past

¹ This was first pointed out by Dr. Morris in the Athenœum.

Participle cauhte; this Mr. Wedgwood derives from the Picard cacher, meaning the same as chaseer. There is hardly another instance of an English Verb, coming from the French, not ending with ed in the Past Participle.¹

We may often find an old pedigree for a word that is now reckoned slangy. We are told at page 15 that we ought to restrain the evil done by thieves; the verb used is wiöstewen, afterwards repeated as stewen in the Legend of St. Margaret. Hence comes the phrase, 'stow that nonsense;' this may be found in Scott and Dickens.² Our verb lick, as used in polite society, can boast of the best of Teutonic pedigrees; as commonly used by schoolboys, it is but a corruption of the Welsh llachiau (ferire). From this last may also come our flog, even as Lloyd and Floyd are due to one and the same source.

Some Danish words and forms had crept Southwards. Thus wenge (alæ) is seen instead of the Old English fyðru (page 81); tidinge, the Danish tiðindi, our tidings (page 77); our amiss, the Icelandic â mis, is first seen at page 57, under the form of onimis, that is, on amiss. Three Scandinavian words, skill, cast, and thrust, may be seen at pages 61, 47, 131. To put is found at pages 15 and 53; in the former instance it means trudere; in the latter capere, not far from ponere, our sense of the word; it seems to come from the Celtic pouta: there is also a Danish putten, and some point us to the French bouter. Put is a Southern word, and has now much

¹ Can eacher have got confounded with the Old English gelacean, gelaht, meaning the same?

² In Hard Times comes the phrase, 'Kidderminster, stow that,' i.e. 'be quiet.'

encroached on the true Old English set and do. The puzzle about its derivation shows how many sources have contributed to form our language. The various meanings of box come from Latin, Old English, and Scandinavian.

There are a few words, now first found, that we have in common with the German and other kindred tongues. Such a word is widstewen. At page 43 we see our smother (there called smorder), which is nearer akin to the Low German of the mainland than to the Old English smorian. Our forefathers used to express the Latin sinister by wynstre, something wunting in full strength: in these Homilies this is changed into luft (left), to which we still cling. This is the Dutch luft or lucht, an early instance of the interchange between c and f (see page 86 of my book). We first find more (radix) at p. 103; this word is common to Germany and to Southern England; it was used by Hampshire witnesses on the impostor Orton's trial, in 1873. Another exclusively Southern word is 'ne studed hom nawiht' (p. 77), 'it bestead them naught; this is the Icelandic stydia (fulcire).

The Moral Ode, printed along with these Homilies, (page 159), is a transcript of some long English riming poem, written about 1120. I think the date cannot be put earlier than this, since the poem has the French words serve and caught; the date cannot be much later, since in one copy we find se pe (he that), a token of great age; this was remarked by Dr. Morris. It is plain that this Ode was transcribed a few years later than the Homilies; for out here replaces oh, as in nouttee and

pouhte (nought and thought); inou stands for the old genoh. There is also w instead of g and h; followed for follogole (p. 179), lawe for lage (p. 177), sorewe for sorh (p. 181); these are new Southern corruptions. In line 347 are the words uniepe togeanes; the ie of the first points to the South East of England, the ea of the second to the South West. The Ode must have been transcribed at some place like Reading, lying on the borders of the two. Never did any tongue employ so many variations of vowels as the Middle English did, to represent the French sound \hat{e} ; the form thief came from the South East, leaf from the South West, reef from the North; the enquiring foreign student must be much puzzled by these products of the different shires, which all helped to shape our Standard English.

The interchange between o and u, so often found in English, was now affecting the South; we see lof for lufed (amavit) in line 257, and iwoned for iwwood (solitus) in line 57; hence our wont. In line 361 fah becomes fou. The old an (solus) is replaced by one, and po stands for pa (illi); this po lingered on in the South down to the Reformation, when the Yorkshire those drove it out; the other form, thae, still lives in Scotland. On lif (in vitâ) is now seen as alive, in line 21; yet our lexicon-makers, even to this day, will have it that alive is an Adjective; they might say as much of abed and ashore. The old gelice becomes iliche (line 377), our alike.

The form also well se (as well as) is in line 70.

¹ The verb gnagan (rodere) became gnaw in the South; but the old form gnag remained in the North, and is our nag; the latter verb, unlike gnaw, is not reckoned classic English.

There is a wholly new form in line 130, a hville time se evre, 'on what time so ever;' the ever was seen before prefixed to ælc (every), but it was henceforth tacked on behind Pronouns like what, whoso, &c. Did those who brought this in think of unquam and the Latin quicunque? The hvilke, (which,) seems here to be set apart to be coupled with a Neuter Substantive. The Nominative hva is used for qui for the first time in line 133; moni mon hva rechö.

We have seen the Suffix ever: we may once more see the Prefix al in line 144; our fathers were fond of setting this al before to (nimis); we here see alto dore, 'all too dear.' They went on to place it before another to, the to answering to the German zer; one solitary relic of this remains in our Bible, happily spared by the revisers of Tyndale, a lover of the old form; we learn that a stone all to-brake (Abimelech's) skull.

We have already seen never more at Peterborough; we now see evre ma, evermore.

As to Prepositions: we find a repetition of the new idiom in the Chronicle, 'nothing was seen of him;' of often follows to hear, but seldom to see. In line 381 is po scullen more of him seon; 'see of the travail of his soul' comes in our Bible. In line 18 we read eie stonded men of monne, which, if literally turned into Latin, would be timor stat hominibus de homine; we have now changed the construction, and say men stand in awe of man. The old ymbe (the Greek amphi) was used as a Preposition down to 1400, and still lives in unquilile; but we here see about beginning to encroach upon it; in line 267, they weren abuten echte,

'they were busy about property.' This foreshadows our Future Participle, 'he is about to tempt.' What was before to sobe now becomes for sobe (forsooth) in line 174.

In line 132 we see muchel he have to beten, 'he has much to atone for.' The have here seems to halt between the meanings of possidere and debere, and reminds us of the change in the old Northumbrian agan. In line 302 there is ich kan beo, zif I scal, liache; 'I can be a leech, if I be called on, or if it be my duty.' The scal here explains a story in Mr. Earle's 'Philology of the English Tongue,' p. 204; a farmer drove a corner borne into the ground, and then said, 'That one'll stand for twenty years, if he should!' This old sense of shall seems to have been kept in Wessex alone.

The Gerundial Infinitive now follows an Adjective; in line 39 comes siker to habben, 'sure to have.'

In line 137 we see how barely came to translate the Latin via; we read of two bare tide, two bare hours, or barely two hours.

The process of the formation of new words may here be watched. We have seen the first appearance of our wrang, wrong; wis is now added to it, just as riht became rihtwis. In line 256 we hear of wrongwise reven; the Scotch long kept the word wrangous, corrupted much as righteous is; they also coined timeous (opportunus).

We find an old English Verb, wealtian (welter), which has another form wealcan, the Latin volvere. This last takes the new meaning of ambulare in line 237; hi walked evre. The old begetan meant adipisci; it now gets the sense of generare in line 105, hwi weren ho bizeten? Cunig (coney), akin to a German word, now appears.

Before leaving the South, we may glance at an old Winchester Charter, seemingly drawn up about 1050, and transcribed about 1160 (Kemble, IV. p. 260). ge is allowed to remain, and the sc is not yet changed into sh; but the old æ is usually replaced by e, and ch appears. The writer is not certain whether to put eu or eow, for he sets down peuwdom. He rejoices in the letter u, writing biscup, wurscupe, and munkes; he employs this u for the old eo, as bûn for been, prust for preest. explains why the old heo (illa) is pronounced in Lancashire as hu, or as we now write it, hoo; strange it is that so old-fashioned and common a word should linger in a Northern shire, and not in the South. The interchange between u and eo is very old; for the Sanscrit bhu is the English beo. We find in the Charter the new derfore. The technical Latin magister (of a school) is now replaced by the French meistre.

England had not yet lost her love of reading her own history written in her own tongue. A Kentish copy of the Chronicle seems to belong to this time, for we find such a form as graschynnene (with the sh sound) in the account of the year 1075. In the beginning of the relation of the year 1050, the old byrig is written beri, and gief stands for geaf; these are true Kentish marks. Further on, amyrrende is written for amyrrenne (vastare); this shows how easily such a form as crienne merci (petere misericordiam) might become criende merci, in the phrase, 'crying mercy availed little.' 2

About this time, rather before the murder of St.

¹ This copy is known as 'Cotton, Domitian, A. VIII. 2.'

² Wickliffe has was to doynge (facturus), in St. Luke xxii. 23.

Thomas, we light upon a tale, which shows how fast English and French were blending together. The greatgrandsons of those that met in deadly grapple at Hastings had become so united by intermarriage, that it was hard to tell, so a lawyer of the day says, whether a freeman was English or Norman by birth.1 Hugh de Morville, a man of renown in his time, one of the future Canterbury murderers, could well understand his wife's English, when she wished to give him a sudden alarm: 'Huge de Morevile, ware, ware, ware, Lithulf heth his swerd adrage!' Here the adjective weer (cautus) is treated as if it were a verb, the rightful beo (esto) being omitted before it; this is the first instance of our shortened phrase, when speaking to a dog, 'war rabbit, &c. The heth (habet) is a clipped hafa's. adrage is the Past Participle, clipped in the true Southern way, for it is a Canterbury monk that tells the tale. wish we had more specimens of the off-hand colloquial English.2

There is an English Charter of Henry the Second's that belongs to this time (Hickes, 'Thesaurus,' I. xvi.); here the Old English eow (you) is written zeau; the au, sounded like the French ou, was a sound common to London and Paris alike. Indeed, so late as 1417, Lisieux was written Leseaux ('Paston Letters,' Gairdner, I. 7).

About this time, the Old Southern English Gospels

¹ Dialogus de Scaccario, Stubbs's Documents, 193.

² Materials for Becket's Life (Master of the Rolls), 128. See Kemble's Charters, II. 96, for a good specimen of the Kentish of this time, or a little later.

of King Æthelred's time were fitted for modern use. These, known in their new form as the Hatton Gospels, are now accessible to all; St. Matthew's Gospel was published in 1858.¹ The main corruption is the change of c into ch, as mycel into mychel, and wlc into elch. The endings are clipped as usual; thus sum becomes sune. The old wylcum is turned into welcum (welcome), page 48. In page 142, something like our wherewith is seen for the first time; about the year 1000, it had been said that 'a man has nothing hwanon (unde) he can pay;' this hwanon in the present version is turned into hwærmid; many changes of this nature were to follow.

After this time, about 1160, there were to be no more English versions of the Bible, and no more English Charters, granted by the Crown. This scorn for our tongue, conceived in high places, was to last for about two hundred years, and was to do great harm.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT. (1180.)

The first specimen of this is the Anthem said to have been dictated by St. Thomas, soon after his martyrdom, to a Norfolk priest. We have this as it was set down by William of Canterbury.² The first four lines are—

> Hali Thomas of hevenriche, Alle postles eve(n)liche. De martyrs če understande Deyhuamliche on here hande.

¹ Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions of St. Matthew's Gospel, by Hardwick.

² Materials for Becket's History (Master of the Rolls), I. 151.

Here the East Midland hali and understande (suscipiunt) have not been changed into the Kentish holi and understandeo. The clipping of the a in apostles in the second line is a sure token of the Danelagh, and comes often in Orrmin. In the fifth line stands Drichtin (Dominus), not Drihten; the change of h into ch was to become common. In the tenth line, the Anglian sinne has been altered into the Kentish senne, even though it mars the rime.

We must now for the third time cast an eye upon the Homilies, which throw such a flood of light upon Twelfth Century English.1 Those to which I now refer date from about 1180, and seem to have been written in Essex, according to evidence brought forward by Dr Morris: for some of their forms are akin to the Danelagh, others to the South. They have peculiarities. found also in Kent; such as the change of i into e, manken for mankin, sennen for sinnen; also, the combination ie to express the sound of the French é, as in lief, bitwien, gier, pief, fiend, friend; lie (page 229) for the older leogen; glie for gleo; fieble (page 191) for what we call feeble. This combination is found in King Alfred's translation of Pope Gregory's Pastoral Care, and after 1120 was preserved nowhere else but in Kent and in the shire where the present Homilies were written. It is pretty clear that they must have been compiled not far from Colchester: the forms peculiar to the North of the Great Sundering Line here mingle with those that

Old English Homilies, Second Series (Early English Text Society), published by Dr. Morris. These did not come out before the end of May, 1873.

come from the South. We have ben, beð, buð, all three, for sunt: both aiper and eiper, bad and bed, giltes and gultes, fire and fur, clepe and clupe. The old tilian had the two meanings of colere and laborare; the older form of the verb we keep for the former meaning, while the tulien of these Homilies, now written toil, expresses the latter meaning. The Phural of the Present ends in both eð and en. Some have affirmed that the London dialect was East Midland and not Southern. I would ask such critics to remark the strong Southern dash in these Homilies, written at some place to the North of London; such words are here found as heo, ich, po, kingene (regum), queðinde, ac, honden, urnen (currere).

It is curious to compare the Moral Ode, as transcribed into this Essex dialect, with that version of it noticed at page 181 of this book. The following are some of the changes:—

Southern.	Essex.	Southern.	Essex.
an (unus)	on	gleo	glie
drazen	drawen	leiogen (mentiri)	lie
ech	afri	I scal	I sal
azen (proprius)	owen	bicauhte	bikeihte
chep (sale)	ware	eorles	zierles
knauð	cnowed	englene (angelorum)	angles
blaweð	bloweð	cunnes	kennes
fond	fiendes	деодей	zieuð
lače	loðe	2 2	Ü

There are three decided tokens of Northern influence in these Homilies: the aren (sunt), the heden (hinc), and the clipping of the prefix ge in Past Participles.

The a often becomes a, as sat, brac, bigat; the a is

constantly changed into o, as fo, wrod, old, drof, mow. sori, cnow, two, soule, Poul; the e replaces ea, as cheke. eke, fewe, leve; the i replaces eo, as pih, liht; in alumð (p. 141) u replaces eo. The combination ai, hitherto not much known in England, comes pretty often; we see maiden, nail, slaine; here the i stands for an older a. The new French ou is in great request, for we find flouwed, blouwen, and such like; there are fower, fuwer. and foure, all three forms; we see both the old nu and The Peterborough wua (qui) may be the new nou. found: and potest is Englished by both mai and muge. What was bihof be in the Southern Homilies is here bihoupe (behoof); wumme is found once more, and wuo stands for wa (p. 149); there is both woreld and wurld. The old Perfect com (veni) now becomes cam (came), p. 145. Some words were pronounced just as we sound them now, as teme, neme, ivel, bitwine; these we must here pronounce as the French would.

As to Consonants: the ge is clipped at the beginning of Past Participles, and also the n, their last letter; the n of the Infinitive sometimes disappears. The g is cast out in the middle of a word, for the old syngode (peccavit) is sometimes sined; the older form lasted in Salop down to 1400. Gedriged and hergode are now dride and herede (harried); the Perfect of tigian is teid (p. 217), leger becomes leire, our lair. There is here also a combination of consonants much used in the Eastern half of England, that of gh replacing the old h; we now find poghte and aghte (debuit); this was as yet strange to the shires South of Thames. Another mark of the North and of the Eastern coast, the use of sal in-

stead of shall, is also found. The hard g sound was henceforth little used, except in East Anglia and Northern Essex; we here find folegen, burg, gure (vester), beger (emptor), gier (annus); also the corrupt gede (ivit). The w, which replaced g in so many words, is creeping up from the South; we see owen, bruw, buw, for agen, breg, and boga. Such forms occur as gres (gramen), bredren, reu (poenitet). In this last word we now transpose the vowels. We here see the old genemned, pyndan, turned into nemmed, pen.

The g sometimes becomes z as well as w; in page 205 we hear that Christ's body was atogen (distractum); from the old teogan (a three-pronged fork, as it were), we get three different corruptions, to tug, to toy, and to tow. The h is sometimes turned into q, as fleg (fugit), for the old fleah; the h at the beginning of a word vanishes, as wit (albus) for hwit; shewe em is in page The ch often replaces c, as in chireche (cyrce), much, stenche, riche, The fact that this new French sound often replaced the Old English hard c has enriched our tongue with two sets of words, springing from the same root; thus we have the two distinct verbs, wake and watch, both from the old wec-an. in 1180 their use was most unsettled; at page 161 we hear that the Devil wecches (awaketh) evil. It is the same with dike, ditch, shriek, screech, drink, drench, kirk, church, egg, edge, owing to this intrusive ch; we even apply this system to French words, as tack, attach, trickery, treachery.

The new sound, sh instead of sc, seldom found hitherto, is established in the South-Eastern shires; as

shown in bisshup, shipe, shufe (shove), shrifte, fishes. The & is sometimes changed into d, as birden (onus) for burden; this process went on in East Anglia. At page 111 the w is cast out; for we see uppard instead of the rightful upweard; we now often hear forrad shouted instead of forward. The n in the middle of the word is cast out; punresdæg becomes puresdai at page 61. The n of on (unus) is clipped, for we see, at page 165, fram ô stede to over; this o for on becomes common all through the South, and we have had a most narrow escape from corrupting all our Strong Past Participles in this way, as 'I have do' instead of done. The Preposition on is clipped in page 109, for we see anes a dai, 'once a day;' a Godes name. The od or ed of the Weak Verb's Past Participle is also clipped, as in lend and fild. An l is tacked on to an old Verb, for cneowian is now replaced by cnewl (kneel).

As to Substantives: the old geoc was Plural as well as Singular, and it remains so in our Bible; but at page 195 we find the corruption giokes. How utterly the Dative has vanished may be seen in page 113, where hege dages, without any Preposition, stands for in festis diebus. In page 187 we see a new construction, a kind of Accusative Absolute; he is forloren, lif and sowle. In page 173 we read, 'they shall fear, and no wunder nis;' we should now drop the last word.

At page 179 the old gemene (communis) is cut down to mene, our mean. There is a wonderful shortening in mest manne (p. 169), which Englishes maxima pars hominum; most is here applied to number and not to magnitude, though we may still say 'the most part.' In

page 165 comes fram ivele to werse, where the Adjectives stand without any Substantives.

As to Verbs: the oldest English allowed of such phrases as I do eow to witanne; this sense of do is extended to make at page 213; speaking of buyers and sellers, he him maked to ben bihinden; the last word shows how our behind hand in money matters arose. As the last sentence shows, the Gerundial Infinitive with to was coming in; we see leren be fold to understanden (p. 93); he penched to forleten (p. 201); hine laded to drinken (p. 213); bicumeliche to wunien (p. 171); help to feed, loth to do. We have seen that the Passive Participle might follow have, as 'he had it wrought:' we now see this usage extended to the Active Participle at page 145; he hadde wuniende on him be holigost. We find the Infinitive dropped altogether, at page 193, to save a repetition; no man us ne wered, ne Gode nele, ich adrade (I fear); the two last words are a foretaste of one of our commonest English idioms. The new Pluperfect Subjunctive, the work of the Southern shires. has not yet reached Essex, as we see in the third line of page 133. On the other hand, there is an advance upon the former Southern idiom, eie stonded men; this becomes, at page 39, he pat non eige ne stand of, not far from our he that stands in no awe of &c. In page 187 we find another terse English sentence, filted ealde neddre; earlier writers would have set some Preposition answering to contra after the first word. The verb healdan was being freely used; ich held mid hem (p. 211), holden hire muŏ (p. 181), holden weie (p. 161). Verbs were now being run into each other; sencan was formerly the Transitive mergere, sincan the Neuter mergi; the two forms now get confounded, for in page 177 comes pe storm bisinkeð pe ship. So in page 109 the old pencað (videtur) becomes pinkeð, whence our me thinks.

As to Numerals: in page 224 we find on over two tiden, "one or two;" a new phrase. At page 175 we hear of two brethren, 'pat on is Seint Peter and pat oder Seint Andreu:' this is a great change from the se an . . . se oder used of the two men who strove for the Papacy in 1129, as recorded in the Peterborough Chronicle of that year. In Scotch law papers the tan and the tother may be remarked down to very modern times; 1 the confusion between letters is like that seen in the nonce. The Masculine and Neuter of the Article were no longer to be distinguished; at least, in Danish shires. The o, which has so often replaced the old a, has added to our stock of synonyms for unus; we now employ one and an in distinct ways, but this had not been settled in 1180: at page 125 we read of 'on old man,' and two lines lower down of 'an holie child.' Many years later, the form such a one was to be written.

In page 213 there is a most curious new idiom; the old man and the later an (see page 54 of my book) seem to be used together; pe stede per me swo one drinket, 'the place where one drinks so;' the one here stands for aliquis for the first time, not for quidam or unus, as in fore-Conquest days. The French on may perhaps have

¹ So in the poem on the Chameleon:--

^{&#}x27;Sirs,' cried the umpire, 'cease your pother; The creature's neither one nor tother.'

had some influence here. In page 203 is a strong proof how idiomatic the old Indefinite man or me was in England; swich blisse me bihat us alle, 'such bliss is promised us all (by God).'

On looking at the Pronouns, we find that self has been turned into a Plural; at p. 193 is us selven (ourselves). There is the old Genitive ure ech, which lasted for ages longer; there is also the new form ech of us, on of hem. At page 191 swa hweet swa is pared down to what; attreð hwat heo prikeð; it may be that the quodcunque, which always translated the Old English swa hwæt swa, led our fathers to look upon hwat as a good translation for the kindred quod. We see a new word, warbi (whereby), page 81; something like wherewith had already been coined in the South.

The compounds with the Adverb where lead us on to those with here; heræfter alone had been used before this time; we find herin (herein) at page 113. So ponon-weard had hitherto been the only compound with bonon: at page 189 we see panen-foroward (thence forward). We know our phrase 'to cry off;' at page 213 we see be soule . . . wilnep ut (desires out), that is, desires to be out. At page 181, we read that the soul tuned to (shutteth to) hire gaten. For pam ænes, or for pan ænes, becomes in page 87 for the nones, 'for that alone, for the purpose;' a curious instance of the confusion of letters, where two words run into each other. We also see at work the Middle English tendency to ad es to words. The adverb wel (bene) stands for riht (valdè) in page 71; he is wel god; we still say, well worthy. The old well-nigh had been in very early use; at page 177 comes, they goo wel on hond.

Among Prepositions, of is encroaching more and more upon older forms; he was of michel elde (p. 125); here the earlier English would have used the Genitive; so lete of boleburdnesse (pretence of patience, p. 79); ortrowe of milte (distrust of power, p. 73); redde (rid) of dead (p. 171); emti of bileve (p. 191); ofshamede of hem (p. 173); forbisne of him selven (an example of himself, p. 149). From this last comes our 'make an example of, make an exhibition of,' &c. The sense of our off comes more to the front; at page 39 we hear of a man be was of his wit; hence our 'off his feed;' swiked of give sinnes (p. 203), we should now say leave off your sins. At page 125 there is a new sense of on; on his spuse he child strende (begat). The preposition to is making further way; in page 141 we read ledde to sunne. . . . luve to him; at page 157, fremfulle to sinbote; at page 73. bilimped to godcumesse; the old Dative is here encroached upon. The Anglian til, which did not travel far to the South of the Great Sundering Line until two hundred years after this, is now used with a Substantive of time; til amoregen is in page 75. A wholly new Preposition, formed from the Noun side, crops up at page 31, supplanting the old wis; biside be burch. The old ut of now sometimes becomes ut fram, as at page 33. We see a wholly new phrase for the Latin quasi at page 117; ase peh it were; here swa would

¹ This shows us how before, behind, beyond, between, were formed in very early days.

have been used earlier. In page 107, quodcunque sit is Englished by be swo it beo; the Relative force of the old swa (as) is here seen; we often use 'be that as it may.'

Many English words were now getting new meanings. Before this, ealdafæder had been used for avus; it now stands for socer, for the kindred English word of this latter, sweer, was unluckily dropped, at least in the East. At page 157 we see that the old syllan is henceforward to keep its sense of vendere and to lose that of tradere. Among the works of darkness mentioned at page 13 are 'chest and chew,' translated by Dr. Morris 'contention and jaw,' one sense of the old ceówan, our chew. Sir Charles Napier, when finding comfort, as he said, in 'jawing away' at the powers that were, little suspected the good authority he had for his verb. There is a famous Mediæval phrase in page 113; Christ, it is there said, 'herede helle;' The Harrowing of Hell plays a leading part in our old literature from first to last. We know our phrase, 'to take to his bed:' we read in page 20, 'bu takest to huse,' that is, 'thou keepest at home.' At page 201 we see a broad line drawn between napping and sleeping. This distinction had been unknown in Old English. At page 151, wlache, the old wlæc, is the adjective applied to snow melted by the sun; this may have been confused with hleow, and is seen in our luke-warm.

We find new forms like 'to croke' or 'make crooked,' page 61; swoldren, our swelter, page 7; snevi and snuve (sniff and snuff), pages 37 and 191. Trustliche (trustfully) appears, akin to the Frisian tråst.

There are many Scandinavian words, which we have followed, rather than the kindred Old English forms.

Dufe, dove 1	from	dufa
Sleht, skill	22	slægð
Holsum, wholesome	,,	heilsamı
Mece, meek	,,	miúkr
Rote, root	99	róte
Shurte, shirt	,,	skyrta
Shrike, shriek	,,	skrika
Smoc, smock	23	smokkr

There are here also a few words common to England and Holland, such as twist, wimple, and shiver (findere). To scorn is here seen for the first time; some have derived it from the French escornir, to deprive of horns. But it is used a few years later by Orrmin, the last of all men to use a French word; scærn (stercus) is the more likely parent of the term.

Giraldus Cambrensis was flourishing at this time, but English philology had still much to learn. In page 45, the derivation of king is given; 'he kenne's (directs) evre to rihte.' This is something like Mr. Carlyle's well-known mistake, about cyning being the man that can act. In page 99 the word husel (the Eucharist) has to be accounted for; we are told that no man can say 'hu sel (how blessed) it is.' At page 25, we get another bit of Old English philology; God is called Father, we are there told, for two reasons; 'on

¹ The Old English culver was long used all through the South of England, while the Danish dove was used in the North.

his for po be he . . . feide (joined) pe lemes to ure licame . . . oder is pat he fet (feeds) alle ping.'

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT OF 1180.

Essex Homilies. Page 105.

Seint Jacob pe holie apostel, pe ure drihten sette to

lorpeawe pe folc of Jerusalem, he nam geme of pe wune teacher took heed customs

pe weren po, and get bien mid mannen, fewe gode and then yet are among

fele ivele, and bigan to turnen pe ivele to gode mid his many

wise wordes pe he wið hem spec muð wið muðe pe hwile he wunede lichamliche among hem. And agen pe time dwelt bodily

pe ure drihten wolde him fechen fro pis wreche woreld to his blisfulle riche, po sette he on write pe wise word kingdom

pe he spec, and pat writ sende into chirchen; and hit is cumen into pis holi minstre to dai, and biforen giu rad,

peh ge it ne understonden; ac we wilen bi Godes though but

wissinge and bi his helpe perof cupen giu pese lit guidance declare

word.

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND. (About A.D. 1180.)

Da zet seip peo soule soriliche to hire l(icham); æfre pu were luper peo hwile pu lif hæfdest, pu were leas and luti and unriht lufede(st and) lupere deden; deredest Cristene men and mid worde and mid werke so pu wurst, mihte. (Ic wæs) from God clene to pe isend, ac pu havest unc fordon mid pine lupere deden; pu were gredi and mid gromen pe onfulled; unneape ic on pe eniwunung ha(fde)for hearde nipe and ofer mete fulle, for pin wombe was pin God and pin wulder pin iscend.

Forloren pu havest peo ece blisse, Binumen pu havest pe Paradis, B(inu)men pe is pæt holi lond, Den deofle pu bist isold on hond, For noldest pu nefre (hab)ben inouh, Buten pu hefdest unifouh. Nu is pæt swete al agon, Dæt bittere pe bi(ŏ) fornon; Dæt bittere ilest pe efre, Det gode ne cumeŏ pe nefre.

The above is taken from a Southern work, the Poem on the Soul and Body, printed from a Worcester manuscript by the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, to whom English Philology owes much. We have here a foretaste of Layamon's well-known work; there are some things common to the present piece and to the Essex Homilies; as soule for saule, four, hwoso, chirche, drawen, owen, where w supplants g; qu is well established instead of cw, and besides is used as a Preposition. But the sh has

not encroached upon the sc; the old scal and scrin have not yet become shall and shrine in the Severn country.

In Vowels: au is making way; strau and clau appear; ei is a favourite combination, for eihte, clei, neih, and eize come; we still pronounce the two first in the proper way, with the sound of the French é; the two last have been degraded. The diphthong re sometimes vanishes; Bæda becomes Beda, as happened before the Conquest; we see the Old and the New in the short sentence, Ælfric abbot pe we Alquin hotep. It is hopeless, after seven hundred years of wrong spelling, to talk now of King Ælfred. The o often replaces a; at p. 7, a (semper), the aye of the North, is written o; rather later, in page 301 of this book, we shall find the phrase ey and o, an admission of the claims of both North and South. The old gat (hedus) is written got; but on the Tyne, far to the North, Gateshead (Caput Capræ) has held its ground. $D\hat{a}$ (dama) and $g\hat{a}d$ (stimulus) become do and gode; ra-deor (capreolus) is changed into roa-deor, and shows us the steps by which the old a became the new o; we still write broad, goad, and hoard, a compromise between the North and the South.1 The sound of o can in our tongue be expressed by about ten different letters or combinations of letters; the student of our language must here long for the simplicity of the Italian. The oh becomes ouh, as in the Moral Ode (see page 181); we see souhte and inouh. The u is most popular, a sure mark of the South; this vowel replaces i,

¹ The old *brâd*, though now written *broad*, is pronounced something in the old way, very unlike the sound of *oa* in other words, such as *toad* and *road*.

for scîr (shire) becomes scur; it also replaces o, for horn becomes hurn. Bytt (uter) is now butte, our butt.

Sometimes a Consonant is dropped in the middle of a word, for we see elleoven (eleven) for endleofan. city Cantwaraburh is now changed into Cantoreburi; and thus the French way of spelling (did they ever vet spell a Teutonic word right?) influenced us. Infinitive dreogan (subire) becomes driven, the Scotch dree: manslaga is now monsleia. The g drops at the end of a word, for hea becomes hei; we still keep the pronunciation of this word hay. Sometimes letters are transposed: cret (currus) becomes kert. Another budding change may be seen in spindel, which is here replaced by spindle. The Southern c and the Northern k are coupled together, as in crocke and picke. King Alfred had long before used the form oregeard instead of the commoner ortgeard; the word is now softened into orchard. In this way the Old English splot with us becomes splotch.

Another word, where c has become $c\hbar$, is cicen, chiken; in this word both the old and the new sound of c are found. The old cealc now becomes chalc, our chalk. Dagas is now dages; but w is the favourite letter in replacing the old g; we see elbowe, fuweles (fowls), and suwa (sow). What was lah (humilis) in 1120 is now lowe; pu drôge (traxisti) is drowe at page 8. An attempt is even made to change days into dawes, a corruption that lasted long in the South. The word sorthfull is turned into seoruhful. The Strong Verb changed into the Weak is seen in sleptest, as in the Rushworth Gospels; the Weak Verb turned into the Strong (a most

unusual thing in English) is found in runyen for the rightful ringoden. There is scorede (secavit) for scær; we have now the two forms score and shear, both coming from the old sceran. We see the Latin word antenna Englished by seilzerd, the first time that yard is found applied to ship-gear. Sartrix is here Englished simply by heo (illa), referring to seamære (sartor), which had gone before; our seamstress still keeps some trace of the old seamestre, the right word to use. Lahte stands for pulmo, our 'liver and lights.' Wealcan stands once more for ambulare, as it did in the Southern Homilies: and the new word deavep (become deaf) appears at page 5; this is Intransitive, but the Scotch deave has become Transitive.

We have other sources open to us, besides the English manuscripts. In the poems of Nigel Wireker, written about 1190, we come upon the names Willekin and Robekin. These are the names of boys, and are most likely due to Flemish immigrants into England. It is curious that the new Teutonic ending kin should be first attached to common French names like William and Robert; it was long before Robekin became Rob or Bob.² About the same time, the Coggeshall Chronicle talks of Malekin, a pet name derived from Mald, or Matilda.

¹ We find here pistor Englished by bakestre, whence comes Baxter. Ster was the ending usually reserved for the feminine, as spinster; but Pharaoh's baker was called in Genesis bacistre, before the Conquest. See Earle's Philology, p. 320.

² Wireker's poems were attributed, when published, to Brunellus Vigelli. I consulted the edition published at Wolfenbüttel in 1662. The names in *kin* are found in p. 94 of this work.

Later in the Thirteenth Century we hear of Jankin, and other such; of these names, Perkin is the most renowned. Ælfric, in his Grammar, written about two hundred years before this time, had told his pupils that some nouns were diminutiva, giving for an example homunculus, lytle mann. He knew not the word mannikin.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(A.D. 1200.)

I now return once more to the neighbourhood of Colchester. We have a collection of King Alfred's saws, dating from about the year 1200.\(^1\) It seems, like the Essex Homilies, to belong to the Great Sundering Line; we find the thorough East Anglian forms qu, qunq, sal, wu, arren, dagis (you, young, shall, how, are, days); also bes \(^1\) u (page 32), where the rightful t is lost at the end of the bes. On the other hand, the Active Participle ends in both the Midland end and Southern ind, and the i or y is prefixed to the Past Participle; the Southern o is preferred to the Northern a, as in no ping, swo, lond; such forms as cunne, Englene (Anglorum), are truly Southern.

As to Vowels; mey becomes may, moge, and muge; the different sounds that might be given to one word are most curious, and show how unsettled a thing Middle English was. The o replaces i, for we find wole for will;

¹ Dr. Morris prints this, along with a Southern version made sixty years later, in his *Old English Miscellany* (Early English Text Society), p. 103.

of this we keep a trace in our won't (will not). The old Superlative lengest remains, but lengra becomes longer at page 113. The English ow sometimes slides into the foreign ou, as in mouin, cnouin. The heo (illa) becomes hue at page 119, and this change spread all over the South. The old dohter and noht become douter and nout. The u seems to take an e before it in page 121, where the old beogan or bugan turns into bewen; much about the same time, Layamon on the Severn was writing becauseden. The sound of the French ou is now expressed by a combination of letters new to English scribes; in p. 132 the old treows is written troyse, sounded much as The Essex tulien was later to be written we sound truth. toil. This French oi will be discussed in a later Chapter.1 We saw that King Alfred was fond of doubling the letter o; this now crops up again; the old bôc is here written booc. Moreover, wudu (silva) is turned into wood, but this must in Essex have been pronounced like wode. The words wulf, wulle, wund, bûr (gebûr, colonus), have always been pronounced in one and the same way from first to last, though we have altered their spelling.

In Consonants there is a great change at work. The h is sometimes wrongly used, as herl for erl, wad for what; it vanishes in the middle of biovit (oportet). The fondness for the hard g is one of the peculiarities of East Anglia; the old $ges \hat{a}won$ and $r\hat{o}wan$ are turned into sagin

¹ In the old Latin Inscriptions we find oinus written where later authors would have put unus. A famous Oxford scholar, examining a school in Perthshire about 1820, asked a boy to spell poison. There was no answer. 'Hoot, mon,' cried the schoolmaster, 'can ye no spell posshun?' The boy at once spelt the word right.

and rogen.1 But mæg and saga (dic) become may and say, as we have since kept them; and saga hit in page 117 is cut down to seit, a proof how little the h in hit was now sounded. The h was replaced sometimes, as at Peterborough, by gh, as degh; sometimes by c, as rict; sometimes by ch, as pochte, pu micht, buch; sometimes by g, as migte, rigtin. We find the two forms mukil and much. This poem differs from the Essex Homilies in the resistance offered to the newfangled sh, which was replacing sc; we find indeed schene and schete, but sal is preferred to shal, and we shall find the same resistance to sh in the East Anglian works of 1230. The p is sometimes corrupted into d, as widuten, quad (cweep). Sir Thomas More, three hundred years later, imitated this, writing quod he (dixit), which at that time was laughed at as old-fashioned by his enemies. p is added to a word, for wela becomes welpe; the confusion of this letter with f is seen at page 111, where hinseolfe (himself) is written hineselpe. The old acceras is now acreis (acres), and ceorl takes the broader form of cherril (churl).

In Substantives: we find that the Genitivales, known in the North, but hitherto unknown to certain words in the South, is now added; faderis blisse is in page 129, but the later version keeps the true old English fader blisse. We find the corrupt alle cunne madnes in page 127 (all kind of treasure); the later version sticks to the rightful Genitive, uyches cunnes madnes (all kind's treasures), 'treasures of all (every) kind,' showing how

^{1.} This seems to show that in the Eastern counties the a of $ges \hat{a} won$ and the o of $r \hat{o} wan$ were not pronounced like the French ou.

the idiom arose. The word thing was about this time employed as a compliment; Alfred is called in page 103 a lufsum ping; a few years later it is applied even to Christ. We see a familiar phrase of ours for the first time at page 133; elde cumid to tune, 'age comes to town,' that is, 'draws near us.'

We find the old *blanc* rather changed at page 138, where it is written *lonke* (lanky). There must have been some great difference in sound between h on the one hand, and c and g on the other, when they were prefixed to l, n, and r; in such cases h is always lost, while c and g remain to this day.

There is a further step made as to Relative Pronouns: at page 117 we see may he forfarin, hwo havel &c. Here the hwo stands after the antecedent he for the first time; the idea of hwo so must have been in the writer's mind. In p. 137 heure (vester) stands for tuus, the first instance of this French idiom in England; it comes amidst a crowd of French words. I have set out the passage at page 209 of this work.

There is a great change in one of the Irregular Verbs; the old ic mag (possum) took pu miht for its second person; this is now corrupted into pu maist at p. 117, though the rightful pu micht comes elsewhere. We saw in the Lindisfarne Gospels this paring down of the Strong Verb to the level of its Weak brother; even in the South, pu cunne, pu durre, had become in some parts pu canst, pu dearst, long before the Norman Conquest. A new idiom starts up at p. 103; begin is cut down to gin, as hem he gon lerin; and this gon or gan was used for ages as a kind of Auxiliary Verb, side by side with can; Scott

has in his 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' the earl gan spy. p. 136 we see the Pronoun set before the Imperative, pu gef him; this has not yet gone out, for we still say 'you go there.' The verb like was of old Impersonal, and we may still say 'an it like you.' But at p. 105 it Englishes amant; we see lovin him and likin; another instance of this comes rather later. The verb do gets a new meaning, finire; mine dagis arren nei done is in p. 135. Drifan is used intransitively, as we learn by the context, at p. 115; to duste it sullin driven. We have seen how wrang (malum) was first found at London; we now see a verb formed from it at p. 135, be wronke gume bu rigtin, 'be sure to right the wronged man.' So mus (mouse) creates a new verb, applied to cats, at p. 121. Another verb crops up for the first time at p. 138, the small man wole grennen, cocken, and chiden; from this cocken must come our adjective cocky. The new verb betide is seen in p. 129.

The old noht is turned into nout and nat; it had already, at Peterborough, begun to drive out ne, and we here find leve pu nout instead of the rightful ne leve pu; but the old ne was used in prose so late as Campian's time. The Old English pe hwile pe here takes the form of hwilis pat, which is kept in our Bible; the is or es is tacked on to Adverbs in the usual Middle English way. We have already seen wel used for swipe (valdè); at p. 103 the two are coupled together, wel swipe strong. An idiom most common in our Ballads is here first found; son so dere (p. 135); here the so is not wanted. A new idiom was now coming down from the North; at p. 133 we read wer (ubi) hachte is hid, per is armpe; this wer

was before this time in the South written prev. The new Relative forms were crowding in.

As to Prepositions: of as usual was employed with new meanings; it replaced the old on in phrases like desi of mod, sot of word. The confusion between on and of lasts still, when we hear people talk of 'the whole lot on 'em;' upbraid of comes at p. 119; we should now turn the of into with, though we still accuse of. The to was often used after weordan (fieri); this usage is now extended, for we see melten to nocht, bringen to nout. At always had in English a sense nearly akin to in; we now find (p. 125) god ate nede, a phrase that Scott loved. Bi is turned into an adverb at p. 137, he wole be bi.

The foreign word clerk is now used for scholar as well as for priest; for it is here said of Alfred that 'he was king and cleric,' p. 103. This old poem is most Teutonic; but at the end of the two last stanzas, the bard, perhaps wishing to show off his learning, brings in a few French words most needlessly:—

Ac nim pe to be a stable mon bat word and dede bisette con, and multeplien heure god, a sug fere be his help in mod.

Hic ne sige nout bi pan, pat moni ne ben gentile man; puru pis lore and genteleri he amendit huge companie.¹

This is the first instance of our word gentleman. There are also letteris and gile. We find for the first time dote

¹ The h is sadly misused in this piece, as we see.

(dolt), akin to a Dutch term; besides a few Scandinavian words. Huge, from the Norse ugga, to frighten. Scold, from the Swedish skalla. We have also added to our well-known word ban the Danish sense maledicere, as seen in this poem; the old geban meant edictum.

I may here remark, that in these Proverbs of Alfred we see a great change clearly foreshadowed, that was soon to mar the beauty of our English speech. There is an evident distaste for compounding Verbs with Prepositions; very few of such compounds are to be found here. Already in the Essex Homilies there had been a falling off from the old system; it is hard to see why this should have been the case; for the Scandinavian, as well as the Old English, delighted in prefixing Prepositions to Verbs. Thirty years after this time the same distaste will be remarked in other East Anglian works. The Eastern shires, lying between Colchester and Leicester, took the lead in robbing us of one of our choicest powers; if Stratmann's Dictionary be consulted, we shall find many verbs, with of, to, æt, an, prefixed; but these were used by writers, Northern and Southern alike, who dwelt far from Essex and East Anglia. p. 115 our author uses letin lif (vitam perdere); the Southern transcriber alters the first word into forleten. It was unlucky that, of all England, the shires near London should have been the ones that started an evil habit, elsewhere unknown. One consequence of this clipping was, that English became more and more onesyllabled.

A Latin Charter of King John's to York, in 1200, may be here mentioned; we there see our word wreck

for the first time, the Scandinavian rel, 'something drifted on shore,' (Stubb's Documents illustrative of English History,' p. 304).

I now come to that writer who, clearlier than any other, foreshadows the growth of the New English. The monk Orrmin wrote a metrical Paraphrase of the Gospels, with comments of his own, somewhere about the year 1200: at least, he and Layamon employ the same proportion of Teutonic words that are now obsolete, and Lavamon is known to have written after 1204. Orrmin, if he were the good fellow that I take him to have been (I judge from his writings), was a man well worthy to have lived in the days that gave us the Great Charter. He is the last of our English Makers who can be said to have drunk from the undefiled Tentonic well: no later writer ever used so many Prepositional compounds, and on this account we ought perhaps to fix upon an earlier year than 1200 for his date. In the course of his lengthy poem, he uses only four or five French words; his few Latin words are Church phrases known in our land long before the Norman Conquest.1 On the other hand, he has scores of Scandinavian words, the result of the Danish settlement in our Eastern shires 300 years before his day. He seldom uses the prefix be, which is not Scandinavian. His book is the most thoroughly Danish poem ever written in England, that has come down to us; many of the words now in our mouths are found for the first time in his pages. Had

^{&#}x27; When we find so thorough a Teuton using words like ginn and scorn, we should pause before we derive these from France.

some of our late Lexicographers pored over him more, they would have stumbled into fewer pitfalls.1

It is most important to fix the shire in which Orrmin wrote, since no man did more to simplify our English grammar, and to sweep away all nicety as to genders and cases. He evidently dwelt not far from the Great Line; he has Northern and Southern forms of the same word, like bone and bene (supplicatio), tre and treow (arbor), ernep and runnep (currit), ones and onewwess (genua). Had he lived to the East or South of Rutland, he would not have employed their, them, for her, hem, at so early a time. He cannot well be put far to the West of Ashby in Leicestershire, for so Scandinavian a writer can hardly have lived in any district that does not abound in hamlets with names ending in by. I should myself place him at the old Danish burgh of Derby, not far to the North of the Line. He uses zho (the old heo) for illa; and something like this is still heard in the mouths of old Derbyshire men. He must not be removed very far to the North of the Great Line, for he is most careful in writing the Infinitive in enn, which was clipped at Peterborough. Derbymay be called the philological navel of England; from Derby a man may go East to Norwich, and not step out of the East Midland country; he may go North West to Lancaster, and not step out of the West Midland country.2 Fifty miles to the North of Derby is Yorkshire, a stronghold of one dialect; fifty miles to

¹ Mr. White has given us a capital edition of Orrmin's poem, the *Ormulum*. Dr. Stratmann has made good use of it.

² There are no regular West Midland works before 1300, so I here take little notice of this district.

the South West of Derby is Worcestershire, a stronghold of another dialect.

There are many links between Orrmin and the Peterborough Chronicler who wrote forty years earlier. The word gehaten or zehatenn is almost the only Passive Participle which they leave unclipped of its prefix. They both use the two great Midland shibboleths, the Present Plural in en and the Active Participle in ende. They have the same objection to any ending but es for the Genitive Singular and the Nominative Plural of Nouns, following in this the old Northumbrian Gospels. They do not inflect the Article, and are thus far ahead of the Kentish writer of 1340. Orrmin uses that as a Demonstrative and not as a Neuter Article; he knows nothing of the Southern thilk, used in Somersetshire to this day. He has no trace of the Genitive Plural in ene, which lingered on in the South for 200 years after his time; he makes no distinction between Definite and Indefinite Adjectives, and their Plurals do not end in es.

We find in Orrmin what we have already seen in other Dano-Anglians, like the Essex writers far to the South East; such forms as, forr the naness, com to tun, burn to ashes, at will, grim of heart, wel (valdè), arrn (sunt), he gan followed by the Infinitive, cnelinng instead of cneowing, bidell, mazz, cam, (venit). The new Subjunctive form that we first saw in the Homilies of 1160 is here repeated; at line 151 of Orrmin's Preface, comes—

I shall hafenn addledd.

As to Vowels: the æ is often preserved. But it some-

times becomes a, as karrte for the old cræt, badd (jussit) for bæd, smace for smæc; sometimes it becomes e, as spekenn for specan, efenn for æfen. Orrmin evidently lived not far from the Great Line. A is often clipped at the beginning of a word; thus apostles become posstless, as in the Rushworth Gospels: arise and awake are also clipped in the true Northern way; adum is always replaced by dun, our down, which is not yet a Preposition. On the other hand a is set before the old bufan (suprà), whence comes our above, and the Scottish aboon. replaces ea, as chappmann, hard, and darr, for ceapmann, heard, and deur. Orrmin prefers aw to au, most likely sounding both like the French ou; he talks not of Paul, but of Purvell, though he has also Saul; with him claustrum becomes clauwstre. Orrmin puts e for a when changing bita (fragmentum) into bite, at I. p. 300; he takes care to mark that the i is short, thus distinguishing it from our word for morsus. E replaces ea and eo, as in the Lindisfarne Gospels; we now find brest, callf, dep, frend, lernenn, ned, held, lesenn, fe, ezhe; nakedd (nudus) is found instead of nacod, and sleckenn instead of slacian; this last has given us two verbs instead of one, slake and slack. The interchange between i and y, so common in Middle English, is seen in Magy, the wise men from the East; the u must now have lost the sound of the French u. O is hardly ever written for the Northern a; we do find nowwhere and nowwhare for the old nawher and nahwar; otherwise, this favourite Southern change is kept at bay. Orrmin writes both awihht and oht for

¹ The Scotch write Laurence, the English Lawrence.

aliquid, and we have kept both these forms. O replaces ea, as pohh (etsi) for peah; it also replaces e; dost and doð are found instead of the older dest and des: Orrmin writes both the Icelandic bon and the Old English ben for our prayer, but he sticks to the old græf (nemus); our grove was to come later. He replaces o by u in funnt and bule; instead of Galileo (Galilee) he sometimes has Galilew, not Galilu; this seems to show that eo was not always pronounced like u, as some wish to make out. Orrmin writes zho for heo (illa), not hu. He has trowwpe, dropping the e that formerly came before the o. When we see his næfr, II. p. 4 (nunguam), shortened for the sake of the verse, it tells us how our poetic ne'er arose in the North. The old siofian now becomes suhhzhenn, our sough. Orrmin is fond of running vowels into each other, and sometimes cuts short the last vowel in temple, maystre, shuldre, when they are followed by a vowel sound; het is written for he it (II. 253), which shows how the old hit (id) had lost the sound of its first letter.

As to Consonants, gelang becomes bilenge, 'belonging to,' just as we saw the interchange of b and g in belief. The p, of near kin to b, was hardly ever used to begin a word in English; path and play are the only very early homeborn words, now in use, that commence with p; nearly all Orrmin's words that begin with this letter are Church Latin phrases, for p is one of the chief letters in Greek and Latin. He will not turn f into v in the Southern

Orrmin's awitht was written ewt and out in other places, not long after this time; he writes strawwenn for our strew. Here we have a hint as to the sound of the old aw.

way, for he writes siljerr and hæjedd. With him the c is often turned into ch, as techenn, bennche, leche, macche, speeche, chosenn; wakeman, however, holds its ground against watchman. Orrmin was the second English writer, so far as is known, who pretty regularly used sh instead of the former sc: he wrote shawenn, shall, and shame. This change began in the South, and the older form had not altogether gone out in the North, for he writes both biskop and bishop. Nowhere more clearly than in the Ormulum can we see the struggle between the Old and the New. The q is often supplanted by z; Orrmin seems to find this useful in distinguishing the Icelandic gate (via) from the English geat (porta); his word for the latter is still found in Scotland as yett. Orrmin first placed z at the end of a word after a vowel, as pezz (they), nazz instead of the old ne; azz as well as a (semper). He gave us lay instead of the Peterborough lai. He drops the final h, turning feh (feoh) into fe. The words eorplic and eavelice are softened down to erpliz and repeliz (easily). 1 Drugod becomes druhhpe (drouth); we sometimes put the old q into this last word. We have still left the old wægen (waggon); we have also ween, Orrmin's wazzn (wain). Not only hezhe, but heh, is written for our high; hence we talk of the hey-day of youth. The old eagan (oculi) now became exhne, our poetical eyne, the Scotch een. But Orrmin will never soften the g into w; he even holds aloof from the old gesawon. Sometimes he throws out ge altogether in the middle of a word; thus ungelic becomes unnlic (unlike).

¹ I was amused at one critic rating me for using scholarlike as well as scholarly. Let him brush up his Middle English.

Augustine is cut down to Auwstin, as he still appears in our family names. The t is sometimes thrown out; haletan becomes hezlenn (to hail). This is still more the case with th; the old offe (aut) is seen as oppr, and this is twice pared down to orr (or). Tyndale, 330 years later, sometimes has the old other for the new or. As offe became oppr, so did Orrmin give ne (nec) an r at the end; we find at Vol. II. 223,

Ner etebb ne, ne drinnkebb.

This ner (written by Layamon no) ninety years later became our nor; the newfangled word could not wholly drive out the old ne (used by Campian) until 1580.1 Orrmin seems to have had a foreknowledge of Grimm's Law; he turns the Latin triplex into pripell. He once uses the corrupt ner of the South for the rightful neh (prope). He has both the old wurrpshipe and the new wurrshipe, worship. He often writes uppo for upon; this is one of the Derbyshire peculiarities that have been lately brought home to all lovers of good English by the authoress of 'Adam Bede'; the old uppe preceded the later uppan. The n replaces l, for sæclode becomes secnedd (sickened), just as Sol and Sun are but two forms of one old Aryan word. The l is inserted, as in enelenn; healfunga becomes hallflingess, a word still in Scotch use; the es, as usual, is now added to round off the old Adverb. The as is cut off in Tobias, which becomes Tobi. Even Orrmin, good Teuton though he be, cannot

 $^{^{1}}$ I do not refer to Spenser's \it{ne} here; he did not use the language of his own day.

resist putting the French c for the old s in his word millce (mercy). When he writes beggsanng, (the coins so called,) we see that the z is beginning to stand for our z, as well as for our y. He keeps near to the Old English in his Judisskenn and Judew (Judæus); he knows nothing of the French way of throwing out the d here. He transposes letters when he writes gresshoppe, fressh, wrohhte; wyrhta (faber) becomes writhte; in his utbresstenn he follows the Scandinavian bresta rather than the Old English cetberstan. He unluckily transposes the old hw, writing what instead of hwat, and so with other words. If we had kept the h in its proper place, we should now have full in our view the link between the English hwæt and the Latin cwid (quid).1 As regards the sound of hwæt, English stands high above German. Orrmin, moreover, transposes consonants when he writes lhude and rhof. At Vol. II., p. 280, we read of talde lazhe (ea antiqua lex); this change of th into t, and this running of vowels together, is still found in shires not far from Derby; the hayloft becomes tallot.

As to Substantives: the old Plural cildru now appears as chilldre, which still lingers in Lancashire; 'gang whoam to thee childer and me,' as we read in the fine modern ballad. Our corrupt Plural children came from the South, as also did brethren and kine. We still keep the old sunne beam, but Orrmin has a corrupt Genitive in sunness lihlt (II. p. 112). He forms a

^{&#}x27; The interchange between c and h has not died out in our island; I have heard Scotch peasants talk of a cwirlwind instead of hwirlwind. A Tuscan talks of the Emperor Harlo Quinto; a Roman calls him Carlo.

wholly new Plural when talking of seffne goddnessess (virtutes), in his Preface, line 276; he also corrupts deor (the Latin ferce) into deoress (deers); we have happily not followed him here. The old manna (hominum) is wonderfully altered, when we read, in I. p. 243, of gode menness herrtess. He uses menn for males and females alike in I. p. 165; our wiser age would talk of individuals, which is a longer word than persons. The Dative is mishandled by him, as much as it is by us; we read that win wass brokt patt allderrmann; to lenenn (lend) The Accusative replaces the Genitive in the phrase whatt gate summ he ganngepp; there is a double Accusative in to ledenn hemm be wesse. As in the Blickling Homilies, we get a hint of our on the spot (continuo) when we hear that Nathanael believed for prihht i stede son summ he &c. II. p. 125. The stern terseness of old speech comes out when Christ heads his quotations from Scripture with boc seggp (liber ait), omitting the Definite Article, II. p. 41. A new piece of slang has arisen of late years, 'it will suit you down to the ground' (omnino). It seems to be hinted at in II. p. 133, piss winn iss drunnkenn to be grund. There is now and then a word used by Orrmin in a sense that seems strange to us; the chariot that bore Elijah aloft is called a karrte; the poor woman who shared her scanty food with that prophet is addressed by him as laffdig; the word allderrman still means a prince, and sometimes an abbot. Rather later, in a Latin Charter of 1255, given by Henry III. to Oxford, alderman is used of nothing higher than burghers; (Stubbs, 'Documents,' p. 368). We find for the first time such compounds as overking, overlord, words happily

revived in our own day. 1 Weddlac (wedlock) now appears where of old wiflac would have been used. The former word, before Orrmin's time, meant no more than the Latin pignus. The Old English woruld stood for seculum, and nothing more; it now begins to stand for orbis.² The latter was earlier translated by middan-eard; Orrmin, at II. p. 256, compounds the Old and the New, talking of the middell werelld. Lie was the Old English word for corpus, though it is in our day found only in Lichfield and lych-gate; bodig usually meant the trunk or chest; but Orrmin uses bodiz far oftener than lic, in our sense of the word. In one line he forms a new Substantive out of the two, speaking of bodizlich. The word flail, akin to the flegil of the mainland, now first appears in English. Bone (boon) changes its meaning; it had meant prayer, but it now sometimes means favour, as we use it; in I. p. 263, comes patt bone patt he zeorrnde (craved). In II. p. 125, the word trowwpe, our troth, means belief: this last sense was of old expressed by treôwe. A new word, kinnessmann (cognatus), now appears; so does claping (clothing). The North of England was soon to abound in Verbal Nouns. We read, in I. p. 247, that Herod was not crowned o Godess hallfe; this is the Scandinavian af Guðs halfu, and fore-

¹ One critic is much disgusted at my using overlord; in this I simply follow my betters. He would probably prefer superior dominator, or hyper-despot. He stands up for sociology as a neat compound; so he would of all things, I suppose, prefer hyper-dominator.

² This word is still rightly pronounced as a dissyllable in Scot land; as in Lady Nairne's *Mitherless Lammie*:—

^{&#}x27;But it wad gae witless the warald to see.'

shadows our behalf, which came a hundred years later; the passage may be translated by on God's part. In II. p. 333, is the first example, I think, of our common use of folk without an article before it; it no longer means a nation, but men; Christ was baptizing folk. In Orrmin's werkhedazh, the new form of weorc-dæg, we find the first germ of Shakspeare's workaday world.

As to Adjectives: in I. p. 280, we see how they changed their meaning, iwhille mann was himm full lap to nehhyhenn; here the lap means odiosum; but as years went on the Dative iwhille mann was taken for a Nominative, and thus the lap got the meaning of invitus. Orrmin's follhsumm (compliant) has not yet the degrading sense of our fulsome; indeed, the latter is said to be connected with foul. He uses sheepish in a sense far removed from ours, applying the word to a man who meekly follows Christ's pattern. He has, in II. p. 182, when relating the miracle at Cana—

pin forrme win iss swipe god, pin lattre win iss bettre.

Here we have the opposition between *former* and *latter* (posterior); the old *later* meant only *serior*; this new sense of the Comparative is found in Dorsetshire twenty years after this time. The *ful* was coming in, as an Adjectival ending; we now light on *pohtful*.

In his Pronouns, Orrmin shows that he is a near neighbour to Northumbria. He uses I and icc; pegg, peggre, peggm; but sometimes replaces the two last by heore, hemm. It was two hundred and sixty years before their and them came into Standard English; they are

¹ The Gothic baim for illis is in St. John, vi. 7.

true Scandinavian forms. Unlike the Peterborough Chronicler, Orrmin sticks to the Old English heo (in Latin, ea), which he writes zho. In I. p. 42, there is an unusual form; pu cwennkesst i pi sellf modiznesse. This of old would have been pe silf; self seemed to be a Noun, something like person; Shakspeare has 'her sweet self.' In I. p. 85, we see our common form theirs for the first time; till ezzperr pezzress herrte. Forms like ours and yours were to come later. This Scandinavian form took long to reach the South; three hundred years later, Skelton wrote both I am yours and I am your. Orrmin employs that before Masculines for the Latin ille, which is something quite new; London kept this at bay and stuck to thilk for two hundred and fifty years longer. In I. p. 227, we see—

whase itt iss patt lufepp gripp patt mann shall findenn Jesu Crist.

For the Plural of this patt he employs pa, which fifty years later was to become pas (those) in the North. This and that are for the first time coupled together in I. p. 323—

Whatt tiss and tatt profete.

That is set before illke (idem) in I. p. 158; patt illke mann; that same is still used instead of the same in some parts of our country. This yle was being encroached upon, though it still lingers in Scotland; as Redgauntlet of that Ilc (de eodem). Orrmin has same once, and once only—

He milhte makenn cwike menn pær off þa same staness.—I. p. 345.

This root same is good Sanscrit and Gothic: the Norse sams means ejusdem generis. Nothing in English is stranger than that this Scandinavian word, which was confined to the North long after Orrmin's time, should have driven out the old ylc. We now once more see King Alfred's geonre (iste), after a long interval; o zonnd hallf be flumm (on yonder side the stream), II. p. 12. There is a great change in Relative Pronouns; a very foreign idiom comes in II. p. 94: her iss whamm zuw birry follzhenn; this is the first time that the antecedent se or he before whamm is dropped. The old hwylc is employed as a Masculine Relative; all whillke shulenn cwemenn me (omnes qui), II. p. 261; hence comes our famous which art in Heaven. The same happened to the German welcher. It had not vet been settled how the Neuter Relative quod was to be Englished: Orrmin uses the kindred word what. We may see how this came to be employed as a Relative by comparing his all whattse iss sinne with his all patt whatt itt bitacnepp, I. p. 36; he uses it sometimes without an antecedent, as in II. p. 91, tu shallt sen purrh whatt tu shallt me cnawenn; the phrase, they herdenn whatt he sezzde, II. p. 188, has had a longer life. The old hwylc formerly expressed the kindred Latin qualis; this hwyle was being replaced by the word we now use; in II. p. 120, comes, he sep what lif pegg ledenn. Cleasby's Dictionary gives us the Scandinavian idiom hvat manna ertú. The phrase whatt time is used for when, I. p. 251. and this is still employed by our poets. This what had already been coupled with the Masculine Plural hlafas in the Rushworth Gospels, written not far to the North

of Orrmin's abode; he favours something like this idiom when writing whatt mann, II. p. 202. The old hweet had always stood for aliquid; it seems now to English res, as well as quis, qualis, and quod. The Essex sum del is in Orrmin's mouth summuchatt, which we still keep; this was of old hwet litles; we also find sum operr and summwher. The phrase patt illke whatt (eadem res) is in II. p. 293. The old swa hwa swa, followed by the Verb, is wonderfully expanded in Orrmin's whase itt iss patt stizhepp, II. p. 20; this it was now being very freely used throughout England; in II. p. 250, we find purth Godess zife itt wass patt &c.; in I. p. 162, comes whatt witt itt iss i pe to &c.; in former times pæt would have been used instead of this itt. In I. p. 137 is the parent of our if so be that; Orrmin has ziff patt iss patt he misdop. Even earlier than this, pæt might have followed ealle; we now hear that a man's wife must guard him all patt zho mazz, I. p. 214. The all is prefixed by Orrmin in the usual way to Participles and Adjectives. The form first found in the Blickling Homilies, written not far from Orrmin's shire, was now being imitated; ælc was taking an after it, whence comes the Scotch ilka; we see ille an off alle pa, and also swille an (such a) drunnkennesse patt, II. p. 137; a new So is ure kinde is swill patt, I. p. 20. The idiom. Substantive is now dropped after enough; we may find inozhe patt ledenn &c., I. p. 10; here we must supply

As to Numerals, an had long been used standing by itself, answering to quidam; it is now set before a proper name for the first time; at I. p. 287,

we hear of an Filippe, (one Philip,) 'Philippus quidam.' We see a new phrase in I. p. 149; Orrmin talks of ehhte sipess an (eight times one). We find all an used in two different senses: at II. p. 193, it means that Christ is wholly one with God; at II. p. 40 we hear that man cannot

bi bræd all ane libbenn.

This is our first glimpse of the future alone; many such forms with al prefixed were soon to follow. Another Middle English form for solus may be seen at II. p. 54; he wass himm ane, a Reflexive Dative; of this the Lowland Scotch have still traces. The word ænes (once) had before stood for semel, it now takes the meaning of olim; I. p. 62, he wass æness wurdenn blind. meaning is found in I. p. 35, patt wass azz æness o pe zer; we here see that our a in once a year is but a clipped on. The old erest (primus) was now rapidly giving way to first, which was to be the English word in future for this number; we hear of the twa firste menn (I. page 261); here pa forman twa would have been used before this time.2 We come upon the true old long form of our phrase three fourths, &c.; we hear, at I. p. 320, of something divided o fowure feorpenn daless; we now

- ¹ This Reflexive Dative may be seen in Lady Nairne's Poems, p. 211:—
 - 'Oh! wha will dry the dreeping tear She sheds her lane, she sheds her lane!

This lane (ane) was at last mistaken for a Noun; as in p. 209:—

- 'The kettle, for me, sud hae couped its lane.'
- ² Which is right, the first two or the two first? Something like the former phrase has always been used; the latter dates from later times, and both have been used by good writers down to 1800.

drop the last word. *Hunndredd*, more akin to the Scandinavian than to the Old English hund, is employed.

Orrmin has many changes in the Verb. For the Latin sunt, we find arm, as well as been and sinndenn. The first of these was hardly ever used in the South or West of England; it comes from the Angles, as we saw in the Northumbrian Gospels. Hi weron sometimes, as in the Southern Homilies, becomes pezz weere; but a more wonderful change is pu were turned into pu wass, the Gothic wast (eras); ic sceal becomes I shall. We see the last of the pure form of the Old English si (in Latin, sit); it survives, somewhat clipped, in our yes, i.e. qe si. Beô is in the Ormulum cut down to be, and beon (esse) to ben. Orrmin uses the old ic mot, bu most, and also a new Scandinavian auxiliary verb, which is employed even now from Caithness to Derbyshire.1 Such a phrase as I mun do this is first found in his work; the mun is the Scandinavian muna; but mune in the Ormulum implies futurity, not necessity.

The new Pluperfect was taking fast root; ziff (he) haffde frazznedd, 'if he had asked;' here the Imperfect would have followed if in the oldest English. Our phrase 'he is grown' is more respectable than 'he has grown;' for we find in Orrmin zho wass waxenn, also waterr wass flowedd; the Passive, not the Active. Orrmin shows us the future extension that was to be given to the former voice in English; he has in II. p. 58, Godd wass peowwtedd (served); in I. p. 294, pe

 $^{^1\,}$ Some years ago I heard an old Derbyshire game keeper use the verb ; its Gothie form is in St. John vi. 15.

lund batt himm wass bedenn sekenn; in II. p. 63 mannkinn forrbodenn iss to fandenn. None of the Aryan tongues was to use the Passive so freely as the English now does; Horace's ego procurare imperor is something most unusual in Latin. In earlier times men talked of 'a lumb to offer; 'Orrmin has the great change, II. p. 85. an lumb to ben offredd; we are more correct than he was when we say 'I am to blame,' 'this house to let,' 'if the thing were to do again;' our true old Gerundial forms. He clips the Imperative, writing loc instead of lociao. II. p. 90, where the word is specially addressed to many men. The Infinitive is used as the equivalent of a preceding Substantive in II. p. 223; all forrsokenn hiss lure, and himm to follghenn; so in I. p. 220, a man pleases God wiph messess and wipp to letenn swingenn himm; we should now use the Verbal Noun, instead of these Gerundial Infinitives, and this must be kept in mind when discussing the hard question of ing final. There is a curious change of meaning in neden; Orrmin uses it in its old sense cogere, but he also employs it for egere (in Icelandic, naud-synja); menn patt nedenn to pin hellpe, I. p. 213. He has the Scandinavian verb want with the Accusative. We still keep the old meaning of dælan (partiri); Orrmin gives it a new sense in I. p. 213. ille an mann batt ohht wipp be shall dælenn (have dealings with): this sense comes from Scandinavia. Miss here governs an Accusative, not a Genitive; in I. p. 310, the parents missten beggre child.

At I. p. 188, we read of pe bede patt mann bitt in the Paternoster; the bede here bidden still stands for something abstract; it was not until Chancer's time that men

could talk of 'a pair of beads.' A great load has been thrown on our verb bid: we may bid beads, bid to supper, bid a servant go, or bid at an auction. The old meaning of stintan was 'to be weary;' it now has the meaning of 'to leave off.' See II. p. 92. The old mænan had the sense of 'to intend;' it now has the further sense of 'to signify.' We hear of the turtle. I. p. 42, that when she loses her mate, ne kepebb Tho with oberr; here keep means manere, a new sense of the word. We find patt iss to seggen, which is a continuation of an Old English idiom; like 'do you to wit': we follow Scandinavian forms in bere himm wittness. bringenn till ende. The Infinitive follows enough when the latter is preceded by an Adjective, as strang inoh to werrpenn. The old Gothic instandan (perseverare) is here seen as stanndenn inn to; the source of our 'I stand to win,' &c. Orrmin has he strac inn, from the old strican (ire). But the Danish take is now greatly developed. We find, as at Peterborough, the phrase, 'he took to do so and so;' Orrmin carries this idea a step further: we hear that some men tokenn hemm till Crist. II. p. 230; also that the widowed Anna. I. p. 266, toc with nan operr (husband); the common phrase now would be 'take up with.' At I. p. 256 comes the Scandinavian shade of meaning, takenn on hapinng; hence our 'take in joke.' At I. p. 86, the Virgin toc onn to frazznenn, 'went on to ask;' hence our 'do not take on so,' that is, 'go on so.' At I. p. 323, comes

¹ Sir Roger de Coverley at the theatre struck in, hearing some people talk near him. Addison would have been puzzled to give the derivation of this verb.

takepp uppone zuw. At II. p. 148, Cain too nip zeen Abeel; hence our 'take a fancy to '&c. The waterpots, II. p. 133, tokenn (contained) prejuld mett. At II. p. 117, Filippe toc Natanaæl wipp wordess (Græcia victorem cepit); so in Burns, 'he takes the mother's eye.' It is not enough to study the meaning of the word take in Bosworth's 'Anglo-Saxon Dictionary;' Cleasby's Icelandic Lexicon must be carefully searched; this especially holds good in the case of writers who lived to the North of the Great Sundering Line.

Orrmin uses assken (rogare), instead of the Southern acsian, and we have here followed him; the Irish still employ are, since the first English settlers in Ireland came from Bristol and the South.

We find both bikeechedd and bikahht for caught. This new word, which we saw first in the South, must have spread fast in England.

He sometimes turns a Strong Verb into a Weak one, a process begun long before his time. He uses hæfedd (elatum) as well as hofenn; he has sleppte (dormivit), where it ought to be slep; weppten (fleverunt), instead of weópon; trededd (depressus), instead of treden.

As might be expected, Orrmin follows the Northern hafan rather than the Southern habban (habere). We find a near approach to our modern corruption hast in his line—

Himm haffst tu slagenn witterrlig.-I. page 154.

Scorenedd (scorched) appears for the first time in English; Wedgwood quotes the Low Dutch schroggen, which has the same meaning.

Orrmin uses both the Strong and the Weak form for the Past Participle of show; he has both showenn and showedd. We now prefer the former, though the latter is the true form; just as we mistakenly write strewn for strewed. But in the matter of Strong and Weak Verbs, we usually err on the other side.

As to Adverbs: forpwipp appears for the first time. but is used only once by Orrmin, who sticks to the old forrbrihht. He was the first to use rikht before an Adjective instead of swipe (valde); the foreign very has now almost driven out this old Adverb; rihht is also employed by him where we should say just, pezz ribht nobht ne wisstenn, II. p. 333. Wrang is here used as an adverb; it was formerly a substantive only; he toc lare all wrang, II. p. 60. Another Scandinavian idiom appears; wel is used as an Adjective in I. p. 251, it wass well put Crist wass borenn. The old uteweard is changed into utterrlike, which, however, does not as yet take our sense of the word. We have seen purhut arise forty years earlier; from this purrhutlike (our thoroughly) is now formed. The siddan is here used much like our ago; nohht lannge sippenn, like Scott's 'sixty years since;' this is the first hint of 'auld lang syne.' A new adverb suddenly appears at II. p. 302; 'thou makest future arks through the one that is all redix i hin herrte'; what before meant paratus may henceforth mean jam, and this we shall see repeated in other Danish shires. Whilum is used in the sense of quondam, as in the Lindisfarne Gospels; a proof that Orrmin lived not far from Yorkshire. The curious word bidene (in Dutch, by that) is now first found in England; we kept it in use for three hundred years. In I. p. 254, the star, as is there said, fixh na foreperr mar; here more is needlessly added, something like Most Highest; hence comes our furthermore, a word found eighty years later in the Sir Tristrem. Orrmin repeats his words in the Old English way, as bett and bett, mar and mar; he unites the opposing adverbs, nu upp, nu dun; her and tære (here and there). We use never in the sense of the Latin ne or non, as 'never fear;' this sense of the word is seen in Orrmin, II. p. 4; St. John made known that he nass næfr an off be breo (non erat &c.). Na mare (non amplius) is used like no longer, referring to time; 'God would care na mare to be served in that way,' I. p. 352. There is a change in I. p. 258, ziff hatt tezz sholldenn oberr nohht wendenn (go or not); in the old time this nohht would have been ua. Hereof and whereof are found; also her uppe (hereupon), I. p. 38, though it in this passage means herein; ter abutenn (thereabout) appears. The adverb away is more freely used; at I. p. 241, we hear patt Josep wass awezze (absent). Prepositions are now much employed as Adverbs; as upp inn heoffne; ziff pu willt habbenn off pin gillt, I. p. 188; the week wass gan all ut, I. p. 150; biggenn ut (redimere), I. p. 271.

We have already seen as though; alls iff (quasi) now replaces the Old English swile. The Danish summ is often used instead of the English swa, and it is still heard in whatsomever. Tyndale long afterwards used now to English the Greek oun, as in St. Luke x. 36; Orrmin foreshadows this in I. p. 153; after referring to what he had before said, he asks whi sexade ice nu hat &c. In I. p. 69, he has ne talde hexz nohht textre kinn, uppwarrd ne

dumwarrd novwperr; this new phrase is the one instance, I think, in which we may now use that true Old English idiom of the twofold negative. Many standard authors may be quoted for it, down to Knowles in his 'Virginius:' 'we needn't say that neither.' Let us not allow this fine old relic to perish utterly. Orrmin somewhat alters the Old English shape of those Conjunctions that are formed from Prepositions: instead of *vefter pam pe* followed by the Verb, he has afferr patt; he has also before that, for that, in that, through that. He goes still further, and forms while that, if that, and rather than that; we are now apt to clip the that.

As to Prepositions: there is a new sense of with at II. p. 34; Christ's generations, it is said, go through weress (men) fowwertiz annd an wipp Crist himm sellfenn; that is, if Christ be added. Orrmin has also to wed with, to berenn upp wipp (hence our put up with), I. p. 128. The wipp is made an adverb and repeated, for the sake of emphasis; 'I will show you wipp and wipp;' something like Orrmin's new withal (omnino). Layamon about the same time was writing through and through; by and by was to come later. Orrmin uses the old binnan of time; he has also wippinnenn in the same sense, as wippinnenn sexe zeress. He employs for when referring to time, as forr lannge (for long); earlier writers would have had to instead of this for, and the same remark applies in for the nonce. He has forr nane gode (for no good), II. p. 182, and seek for; the last word would have been after in Old English. There is a new Preposition in I.p. 354; St. John forbids the Publicans to take aught forry bi pe kingess fe; this is the source of the Scotch forby (præter). The pair in and on interchange as usual. We see don himm i pezzre walde, II. p. 221, (put him in their power). A wholly new idiom appears in I. p. 104; Christ is said to be Gold inn himm selfenn, that is 'taken by himself,' (per se), in his own nature. Earlier Englishmen called to heaven; Orrmin shows us how the to was replaced by on at I. p. 58, Crist biddepp uppon his faderr; he has also 'to set a name upon him.' Where we say 'to draw men on to' &c., Orrmin substitutes upponn, II. p. 180. This upon marks hostility; in I. p. 248, Herod thinks that the Magi were upponn himm cumenn with views of their own: the idea may be seen in the Chronicle about the time of Rufus, and it survives in our seize upon, encroach upon, find stolen goods upon a man. The old to is replaced by inntill (into) when Orrmin boasts of his turning a book inntill Ennglisshe; he was not polished enough, I fear, to talk of semi-Saxon. He has also sammenn (gather) pise inntill an. Indeed, his inntill seems to foreshadow our until, unto, when we read in I. p. 250, ledenn hemm be wezze inntill batt tun. Over is strengthened by all, much as we use it; the flood passed all oferr erbe. The old gelang on (per) is cut down; we hear in II. p. 110 that something iss lang o Cristess hellpe; Scott keeps this old phrase in his 'Dark Musgrave, it was long of thee;' but the common folk now prefer 'all along of thee; ' the on and the of, as usual, interchange. Toward replaces the old for and wip, as lufe towarrd

Orrmin, in the eyes of some of our would-be philologers, must appear as ignorantly presumptuous as King Alfred himself. The idea of their barbarous jargon being accounted English!

Godess hus, II. p. 188: in the Essex Homilies the Preposition here employed was togenes. Bi is now used before a Pronoun to express isolation, like the Greek kata; St. John, we hear, grew up and cube ben himm one bi himm sellfenn, I. p. 25. We find at used after the verb begin; heretics say that Christ bigann (ortus est) att Sannte Marze, II. p. 295; we should now, in such a phrase, use from. Another new employment of at comes from the Scandinavian; he chæs all att hiss wille, I. p. 120. From is put before the Danish pepenn; as fra pepennforth (from thenceforward), a needless addition; in Scandinavian, heðan fra stands for our hence. Orrmin has both free of and free from, with a Noun following. That Preposition, which has been encroached on by from, is itself used in many new senses: we find ware of, glad of, rich of, kisstiz (liberal) of; this of replaces the old bi, (the Latin de), in think of, hear of, ask of, bear witness of, bigripenn (rebuke) of, write of how it was; the old Genitive makes way for of in repent of, the tale of eight, the hope of, love of, need of, loss of, somewhat of, aught of, two of, upper hand of; in II. p. 125, we find first Godess zife, and in the next line gife off Godd; there is the old form, Rome burrh, and the new form, burrh off Zerrsalem. There are such phrases as see ifell ende off himm, I. p. 174; off sipre (of late), I. p. 252; wass off his kinn, I. p. 8; tezz ne fundenn nohht off himm, I. p. 310; like 'see more of him.' The to is as much developed by . Orrmin as the of; we find look to himself, fresh to (his work), burn to ashes; the Dative is replaced, in herrsumm (obedient) till him: the Infinitive, following another Verb, has to often prefixed, as forbid to go, help to do,

set him to do, chose them to be, care to, doom to, be loth to, forletan (neglect) to, behoves to. The idiom give to wife is one of our oldest phrases; Orrmin carries this a little further in I. p. 255, whattse pu dost to gode; we still say, 'I am so much to the good.' At II. p. 133, comes piss winn iss drunkenn to be grund; here the to replaces the old of of the Southern shires.

Orrmin's work proves that the Trent country had not vet lost the power of compounding words with Prepositions and such prefixes as even, full, un, and wan. This gives wonderful strength and pith to his verse. We degenerate writers of New English use few compounds but those with out, over, fore, and under; in this respect England (it is the weak point of our tongue) falls woefully short of India, Greece, and Germany. Most striking is the number of Orrmin's words beginning with the privative un. We have lost many of them, and have thus sadly weakened our diction; but our best writers are awaking to a sense of our loss, and such words as unwisdom are coming in once more. Orrmin had no need to write the Latin immortality when he had ready to hand such a word as unndæpshildignesse, implying even more than the Latin.1

Orrmin writes feelingly on the duties of kings to their peoples, as would be natural in a born subject of the two sons of Henry II. 'A Christian King,' says he, 'should be rihhtwis and milde, and god wipp all hiss

¹ One professor of fine writing was very wroth in print with me for my ideas about English compounds. He would be glad, I have no doubt, to substitute impontadaptability for Mr. Plimsoll's vulgarly Teutonic word, unseavorthiness.

folle, or God will hold him worse than that heathen Emperor who drove out Archelaus for oppression, and for nothing else,' I. p. 286. Orrmin had doubtless heard of the doings of a later Emperor, Henry VI., who was the cause of draining England of much gold; the old bard writes of Augustus as an Romanisshe Kaserrking, a title which seems so much to puzzle the English of our day. Orrmin must have known all about that sovereignty which was styled in the documents of his day, 'the Roman name and the German sway.' He talks of bezzsunnz (besants), and evidently has an eye to the Crusades in I. p. 153, where he says that no man ought to be killed unless he seeks to slay you, forr Crisstendom to cwennlenn (quench).

One of the peculiar shibboleths brought hither by the Danes was the word gar (facere), still to be found in Scotland. Orrmin uses the compounds forrgart and oferegarrt. The verb is found neither in High nor in The Scandinavian gow is used by him Low German. for observare; hence comes our a-gog, the Icelandic à gægium (on the watch). Orrmin's Danish Adjective, trigg (fidus), has not died out of our Northern speech; hutenn (vituperare), which first appears in Orrmin's work, is a puzzle to lexicographers, and may come either from the Welsh or the Scandinavian. England cleaves to her own old word leap; Scotland to the Danish laupa (loup); they are both found in the Ormulum. The South of England is wont to lurk (ludere), the Old English lacan; the North of England follows Orrmin's legzkenn, the Iceland at leika. When we say 'follow my lead,' we are using Orrmin's Icelandic word leiö (ductus); the Old English lôd meant only iter. We derive our modern use of the word shift (mutare) from the Scandinavian, and not from the Old English; in the latter the word means 'to distribute,' and nothing more. We see the two senses in Orrmin's work, I. p. 13, where he speaks of Zachariah's service in the Temple. Our word shift (chemise) means only a change of linen. We speak of 'sticking a man into a thing;' this is Orrmin's steken (figere), akin to an old German word. The Scotch say 'steke the door.' His Zerrsalæm for Jerusalem is a true Danish form. His mazzstredwale (arch-heretic) is an early instance of compounding French and Teutonic Nouns into one word. He uses hurt for offendere, lædere; this is akin to the Dutch.

It would be endless to point out all Orrmin's Scandinavian leanings. In our word for the Latin stella, he prefers the Danish stierne to the Old English steorra, writing it sterrne. He even uses og, the Danish word for 'et' in a phrase lik azz occ azz. He employs the Danish ending lexac as well as the English ness in his Substantives, as modizlezze, modiznesse. In tende, his word for decimus, he follows the Danish tiende rather than the Old English teoda; our tenth seems to be a compound of the two. The English Church talks of tithes, the Scotch Kirk of teinds. He uses a crowd of Danish words which I do not notice, since they have dropped out of use. Like the Peterborough Chronicler, Orrmin has fra, wicke, wrang, wiless, ploh, kirrkegærd. While weighing the mighty changes that were clearly at work in his day, we get some idea of the influence that the Danish settlement of 870 has had upon our tongue. I give a list of those Scandinavian words, used by him, which have kept their place in our speech.¹

Old English.	Scandinavian.	Orrmin.
Tynan	Angra	Anngrenn, to anger
Tintregian	Beita	Bezten, to bait
Unscearp	Blunda, dormire	Blunnt
Ceapsetl	Βάδ	Bobe, booth
Fear	Boli	Bule, bull
Hræd	Buinn	Bun, ready ²
Sniðan	Klippa	Clip, tondere
Searu	Krokr, uncus	Croc, a device
Sweltan	Deyja	Deze, die
Wunian	Dvelia, delay	Dwelle ³
Afaran	Flytta	Flitte, remove
Paþ	Gata	Gate, path
Freme	Gagn, commodum	Gazhenn, yain
Gescrepelice	Gegnilega, conveniently	Gezznlike ⁴
Cræft _	Ginna, decipere	Ginn, a contrivance
Ceápman	Okr, usury	Huccster ⁵
Yfel	Illa	Ille, ill
Ticcen	Kid	Kide, capreolus
Tendan	Kynda	Kindle
Up-heah	á Lopti	o Lofft, aloft
Neát	Naut	Nowwt, bos
Sige	Overhaand	Oferrhannd, upper hand
Eax	Palöxi	Bulaxe, poll-ave

¹ I give in my list the origin of a few Scottish phrases, and the reason why Yorkshiremen talk of the *gainest* way to a place,

² A ship is outward bound.

³ We still have the old sense, 'to dwell long upon a thought.' The sense of habitare has not quite driven out the sense of morari.

⁴ Hence comes our ungainly. But the verb 'to gain' is from the French gagner.

⁵ Ster was the sign of the feminine for hundreds of years after this time, at least in the South; we see a change at work when Orrmin applies the ending ster to a man.

Old English.	Scandinavian.	Orrain.
Arasian	Reisa	Reggenn, to raise
Scóp	Skálld	Scald, minstrel
Forhtian	Skierra	Skerre, scare
Cræftig	Slægr	Sleh, sly
Spor	Slódi	Slop, slot
Fægr	Smuk ¹	Smikerr, beautiful
Deon	þrífask	prife, thrive
Fultume	Uppheldi	Upphald, an upholding
Rod	Vöndr	Wand, rod
Wansian	Vanta	Wantenn, carere
Wyrse	Vaerre	Werre, waur in Scotch
Geol	Iól	\mathbf{Y} ol, $Yule$

We have had a great loss in the Old English words mid (cum) and niman (capere).² These are, with little change, good Sanscrit; and the Germans have been too wise to part with them. Orrmin but seldom employs them, and they must have been now dying out in the North. He is fonder of the two words which have driven them out, i.e. with and take. Had the banks of Thames been the birthplace of our Standard English, we should have kept all four words alike.

In giving a specimen of Orrmin's verse, I have been careful to take the subject from scenes in Courtly life, where, after his time, numbers of French words must unavoidably have been used by any poet, however much a lover of homespun English. Orrmin's peculiar way of doubling Consonants will be remarked. He clings fast to the Infinitive in enn, which had been dropped at

¹ Every one remembers Cowper's 'Sir Smug.' The old Danish word has been sadly degraded.

² The last survives in numb, and in Corporal Nym.

Peterborough; this is one of his few Southern leanings. If we wish to relish his metre, every syllable must be pronounced; thus, *Herode* takes an accent on all three vowels alike.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT OF 1200.

ORMULUM, I.—Page 280.

Herode king mazz swipe wel pe lape b gast bitacnenn;	a right b loathsome
for all hiss werre and all hiss will wass ifell gast full eweme, and onn himm sellfenn was inoh his azhenne sinne sene; for well biforenn patt he swallte wass himm patt was bigunnenn patt he shall drezhenne azz occ azz inn helle wipp be deofell;	o pleasing to d enow e own f died g woe h suffer i became
forr he warrp' seoc, and he bigann to rotenn bufenn' eorpe, and tohh' he tocc wipp mete swa	k above 1 yet
patt nan ne mihhte himm fillenn, and swa he stanne patt iwhille mann was himm full lap to nehhyhenn; n and all himm wærenn fet and peoso tobollenn and toblawenn.	m every n approach o thighs p swollen
pa læchess patt himm comenn to and himm ne mihhtenn hælenn he sloh, and seggde patt tegga himm ne kepptenn; nohht to berrghenn. and he toc iwhille hæfedd; mann off all hiss kineriche,; and let hemm stekenn inn an hus, and haldenn swipe fasste, and badd tatt mann hemm shollde slæn, son summ he shollde degenn.	q they r heeded not to protect him s head t kingdom u had them shut x as soon as

he pohhte fatt mann munnde, beon off hiss deep swipe blipe, and wisste patt mann munnde paz for hemm full sare wepenn, and wollde swa patt all pe folle patt time shollde wepenn, patt mann himm shollde findenn dæd pohh itt forr himm ne wære.

Page 283.

And affterr patt ta wass he deed In all hiss miccle sinne. acc bær wass mikell oferrgarrt* and modignesseb shæwedd abutenn þatt stinnkennde lic° pær itt wass brohht till eorpe; forr all be bæred wass bilezzd wipp bætenn gold and sillferr, and all itt wass exzwhære bisett wiph decrewurrhef staness, and all patt wædes patt tær wass uppo þe bære fundenn, all wass itt off be bettste pall patt anig mann magg aghenn,h and all itt wass wundenn wipp gold and sett wipp deore staness, and all he wass wurrplike shridd i alls iff he wære o life, and onn hiss hæfedd wærenn twa gildene cruness sette, and himm wass sett inn hiss rihht hannd an dere kinezerrde;* and swa mann barr patt fule 1 lic till pær he bedenn haffde.m and hise cnihhtess alle imænn forth zedenn° wipp be bære,

would

z then

a haughtiness

b pride c body

d bier

e everywhere f precious

s apparel

awo d

i honourably clothed

k scep

l foul

m had bidden

n together

o went

wipp heore weepenn alle bun, swa summ itt birrh, wipp like.
and ee per zedenn wipp pe lic
full wel fif hunndredd pewwess, to strawwenn gode gresess sper,
patt stunnkenn swipe swete,
biforem patt stinnkennde lic
pær menn itt berenn sholldenn.
and tuss pezz alle brohtenn himm
wipp mikell modiznesse
till pær pær the pezzm haffde sezzd
patt tezz himm brinngenn sholldenn.
swille mann wass patt Herode king
patt let te chilldre cwellenn,
for patt he wollde cwellenn Crist

amang hemm, ziff he mibhte.

p ready q it befits

r servants s herbs

t where

u such

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.

(About A.D. 1205.)

(KING LEAR'S ANGER AT CORDELIA'S SPEECH.)

De king Leir iwerde swa blac, swilch hit a blac clod weden. iwærd his hude and his hedwe, for he was supe ihærmed, mid hære wrædde he wes isweved, hat he feol iswowen; late hed he up fusde, hat mæiden wes afeared, ha hit alles up hrac, hit wes vuel hat he spac: Hærne Cordoille, ich je telle wille mine wille; of mine dohtren hu were me durest, nu hu eært me alre lædes:

ne scalt bu næver halden dale of mine lande; ah mine dohtren ich wille delen mine riche. and bu scalt worden warchen, and wonien in wansibe, for navere ich ne wende pat pu me woldes pus scanden. parfore bu scalt been deed ic wene: flig ut of mine eæh-sene, pine sustren sculen habben mi kinelond. and his me is iqueme; be due of Cornwaile scal habbe Gornoille. and be Scottene king Regan pat scone; and ic hem zeve all ba winne be ich æm waldinge over. and al be alde king dude swa he hafvede idemed.1

The above lines are taken from Layamon's Brut, compiled, as it would seem, in Worcestershire about the year 1205. The proportion of Teutonic words, now obsolete, to the whole is the same as in the Ormulum. The ea becomes æ or a; thus earm (brachium) is written ærm and arm. The diphthong æ is still found here, but hardly appears in English after Layamon's time; this æ he sometimes alters into a and e, for he has not only beer (sustulit), but bar and ber; he has penne (tune) and also pane and penne; there is færen as well as faren.

¹ Sir F. Madden's *Layamon*, I. 130. Layamon has added much of his own to the original in this story of King Lear; and the additions have been copied by later writers, Shakspeare among them.

lafdies (dominæ) and also leivedi. The Old English Câsere (Cæsar) now becomes Kaisere. The α often becomes o; hat and hot both stand for calidus, and the words lond, hond, are written for land, hand, as in the oldest Worcester Charters printed by Kemble ('Cod. Dip.' I. p. 100). This is also done by our Frisian kinsmen. What Orrmin would have called o lande, Layamon calls a londe. The Verb dreef (pepulit) becomes draf and drof; the former is used in our Version of the Bible, the latter in our common talk. Our modern oat is found as well as $\alpha\delta$ and $\alpha\delta$; the first-mentioned form reminds us of the Worcester manuscript quoted at p. 200 of this book. There is nawit (nihil) and also nowit and nauyt; into all three most likely came the sound of the French ou. Orrmin's la (ecce) becomes leo and lou. The old wearc is replaced by both were and wore: this seems to show that both Vowels in the oldest form of the word were sounded; the form wurckes also appears. The Perfect of pyden (premere) was once pidde, but it now becomes pudde; hence our thud. The græfess (nemora) of Orrmin is now seen as groven, our groves. The interchange between o and u is going on; Orrmin's bule (taurus) appears; there is mornede as well as the old murnede, wone and wune; god (bonus) is found written goud, just as we now pronounce it. The English counterpart to volo, volui is seen in many shapes, as wille, wolle, wulle; walde, wolde, wulde; the ic wulle still lingers in our Western shires as I ool. Our word for the Latin est varies as beo, beod, bio, and buo; and it is much the same with the Vowels in the Perfect of fall (cadere). The Plural hee becomes in Layamon has, hes,

peos, pis; we now follow the sound of the last. There are both the old heowen and the new hewen (secare); both peowe and peou (servus). The supplanting of u by ou, sounded in the same way, goes on as before; we find pou, nou, and bour. In treouwe (true) there is a combination of the English ow and the French ou. The latter sound might be expressed by oi; we accordingly find Gloichester written for Gloucester.

As to Consonants: the old sc beginning a word held out against the new sh far more stedfastly on the Severn than in Orrmin's country: there are but five exceptions to this rule in Layamon, which are scheld, scheap, schip, scholde schenches. But the ch often replaces c; we find both die and dich, swile and such, muccle, muchel, mochul, and muche.1 There are brech and crucche; the old cycene now becomes kuchene (kitchen). The Frencisc of former days turns into Frenchis and Frence (French); the old form Frankis lingered a hundred and forty years longer in the North and East of England. The word dohter is seen as dochter: the h becomes sometimes π , sometimes w: for there are burh, burize, and buruwe, all three; the q is clipped or softened, as peni, penizes, upbræid (upgebredan), iteied (getigod); the h disappears in wat, written as well as whæt; we find brokte, broukte, broute (obtulit). Some little confusion has been the result of all these changes; thus with Layamon fluwen (our flew)

¹ We have the proper names *Mickle* and *Mitchell* formed from the old *mycel*. By the way, what strange irony furnished the Celtic patriots of 1848 with a leader who boasted the most Teutonic of all names, except perhaps Smith!

replaces the old flugon (volaverunt); the likeness to flowan (fluere) is rather puzzling, to say nothing of fleon (fugere). Letters are sometimes cast out in the middle of a word; endlufon is turned into ællevene, and cufte (cucullus) into cule (cowl). We keep the last letter of loaf, the old hlåf; but Layamon in the Plural turns the f into v, and writes låves, our loaves. There is a great change in the tenses of leosan (amittere); in the Perfect losede (our lost) comes as well as the old les; in the Past Participle ilosed (our lost), comes as well as the old iloren. Consonants are sometimes transposed, for we find both brude and burde (mulier).

In Substantives new Plurals are formed; hors (equi) becomes horses; the old form of the word lingers in 'horse and foot.' A great change in idiom, when measure is to be specified, now appears; in Old English, age was expressed by the word wintre with a cardinal number, as he was twelf wintre; in St. John ii. 20, annus is Englished by winter. is now altered, for we find he was fiftene zer ald. Accusative is further used in the phrase he pleozede his playen (played his play). Instead of the Accusative, we find ones an ane tide (once on a time); here the anes stands for olim, as in Orrmin. A few Substantives change their meaning; pliht had hitherto meant periculum; it now takes the sense of conditio, which we keep; peau had hitherto been applied to the mind only; it is now used of the body, as we talk of thews and sinews. Spenser used the word in its old sense. Layamon, speaking of a mere, says, 'Feower noked he is;' hence our word nook (angulus). which may come from hnégan (flectere). He uses top for caput.

He forms an Adjective from the old hende (prope). He has indeed, in I. p. 206, an oder stret he makede swide hendi; but he usually employs this word in the sense of courteous, and in this sense it was used for centuries. Scott's phrase, 'Wallace wight,' is seen in Layamon, who has iwiht (fortis). The Old English ending ol was being corrupted; for swicol now becomes swieful, just as rather later forgital was to become forgetful. At III. p. 98, we see a spelling device for marking, as strongly as may be, the difference between two Adjectives; 'wunied her hal and heal,' whole and hale;' this of old would have been gehâl and hál (integer et sanus).

In Pronouns: hit was is used to emphasise a Verb following; hit was in and zeol-daie pat &c., II. p. 532; hit is umbe seove zere pat pu weren here, I. p. 214, formerly pæt would have been used for this hit. One sense of pæt is found in I. p. 100; makian an eorð hus and pat inne swiðe feire stude; this is like Cicero's 'audientem Cratippum idque Athenis.' In I. p. 136 comes 'seide to his bornen, pat was pe bisie king,' we should now alter the construction and say 'busy (eager) king that he was.' We sometimes find in Layamon peo (illi) instead of the Old English hi; a token that he did not live very far to the South of the Great Line. The hwæt is employed for the old hu in wat heo ihoten weoren (what they were called), I. p. 2; while is used as a Relative.

Half is now set before an Adjective; heo weeren hælf zaru (half-ready), I. p. 369. Layamon was the first to put the Indefinite Article after many, as moni

nnne (many one), mony enne ping (many a thing), so also half an hundred. A wonderful change occurs in be eou war, III. p. 399; here the Accusative eou is employed for the Nominative ye. Our translators of the Bible were far more careful than Layamon in the use of these Pronouns. A form well known in later English comes in I. p. 132, quene navede he nane, 'queen had he none.'

The great change in Verbs that we owe to Layamon is the alteration of the Present Participle Active. This, which of old terminated in ende, became inde in the South about 1100; and now, in 1204, it turns into inge; we here find berninge, fraininge, singinge, and waldinge. A hundred years later this worst of all our corruptions reached Lincolnshire, and was unhappily adopted by the man who shaped our modern speech. The confusion between the Active Participle and the Verbal Noun is endless: it led to a wholly new English idiom cropping up about 1770. Lest (ne) is followed by should and would with the Infinitive, instead of the old Subjunctive. Orrmin used the old form wass wurrhenn (factus est); for this Layamon has pu weore his man bicumen; he writes also Brennes wes awai iflozen, I. p. 203. construction of the old gewunian (solere) is altered; the Auxiliary Verb is added to it, as he utlazen weoren iwuned. II. p. 94. The Passive Voice, as in Orrmin, is further developed; we light upon heo wes wel itaht, I. p. 268, even though teach governs the dative of the person; still more striking is the phrase pu ært ilete blod, II. p. 372. is the first instance of the Accusative following the

¹ They made one slip in Genesis xlv. 8: 'It was not you that sent me.'

Passive, a most English idiom in modern times: as we say, 'I am forbidden meat.' We see the phrase habben care, I. p. 16. Our draw takes the further sense of venire, as well as that of trahere, in II. p. 14; heo wulled to me drazen. Our lay on (ferire) appears in stercliche heom leggen on, II. p. 465. The expletive. ich wene, is found in I. p. 131. The old gyrdan (cingere) gets the further sense of cædere; as he gurde Suard on pat hæfd, I. p. 68; so Shakspeare has 'he will not spare to gird the Gods,' and we still talk of girding at a man. The old noun gurd had borne the meaning of virga. Swogan had hitherto meant sonare; it now got the sense of swoon, I. p. 130. Layamon has mærcoden in the new sense of videre; of old it had expressed ostendere: this is just the converse of the change in the old sceawian. Our allot is first seen in Lavamon's iloten (destinatum). The Perfect of our roam (vagari), a puzzling word, is first seen in his writings as rameden, I. p. 335; eighty years later the a of this verb became o in the Danelagh. A Strong Verb is turned into a Weak one when he says (I. p. 57), his scipen runden, where we more correctly say his ships ran.

As to Adverbs: quicliche changes its meaning and is used for cito in I. p. 200, though but once only; it comes three times in the later version of Layamon's poem, drawn up about 1260. There is a new phrase, at pan laste (denique), I. p. 160; this seems an imitation of the Old English construction at nextan. Long seems to be used as an Adverb in Layamon's new phrases pene dai longe and alle longe niht; the livelong day was to

come later. The word half seems employed as an adverb in his hit is half mon and half fisc, I. p. 57. We find her æfter for the first time in II. p. 19. We see the combination weonne so (when as) in II. p. 206; this lasted until 1670, and whereas came up after Layamon's day. We begin to find a distinction made between so and as; swa he per agon ase pe over hæfde idon, I. p. 288. In Old English the idea of difference was expressed by ungelice ponne. Layamon changes this, for he has al hit iward over pene heo iwenden (other than), II. p. 395; Chaucer turns this other into otherwise. In I. p. 142, we see no more used for no longer, heo nolden hem no more feden; in I. p. 128 more is used in a different sense, heo ne seide na þing seð, no more þenne hure suste.

Something new appears in hit likede wel pan kinge buten for ane pinge, III. p. 264; it is sometimes hard to tell whether but stands for nisi or for præter. There is a pleonasm in the sentence beden hine heom ræden, over ælles &c., II. p. 82; here either over (aut) or else would have been quite enough.

As to Prepositions: of is turned into an Adverb in of mid here breches (off with), II. p. 332; the construction of mid here is curious, there being no Verb. There is biswiken of richen (whence our cheat of), and weri of sorzen, a mon of priti zeren, a king of mucle mæhte; in the older tongue the Genitive was used instead of this of. The Latin de is Englished by out of in mine gumen ut of Galwæiða, II. p. 25. The to, like the of, is sometimes used without a Verb, as nu heom to, nu heom to, II. p. 468, like Shakspeare's 'to it again!' This to begins to supplant the old oð (usque ad), as stiken to þan

bare lichen his bærd, II. p. 428; Sydney Smith talked of preaching a Church 'bare to the sexton.' One Old English use of to is continued in iseten to mete; 'stand to your arms' is a survival of this, though we now, in most cases of this kind, prefer at. In notions of time tôgeanes in early times was used to express near approach; this is now changed, as in Orrmin, for we read touward pan sumere. The old foran ongean, whence comes the Scotch forment, is seen slightly altered at II. p. 353; sæt forn ugan him. The on is used as an Adverb in he hefde brunie on. I. p.66. We have dropped the on or a used by Layamon to mark future time; as, comed to dæi a seoven nihte, I. p. 232. Our threatening phrase, 'on pain of,' is seen at I. p. 218, uppe wite of feowerti punden. The uppe is clipped and used in a new sense, stizen up pan hulle, III. p. 32. Layamon follows the Gothic Preposition rather than the Old English purh when he writes swor bi al hevenliche main, I. p. 146. This bi he uses when repeating a Substantive in an adverbial sense, as side bi side. He has also hond wid honde; the older English used to in this sense. It had employed the verb mêtan, followed immediately by an Accusative; Layamon alters this into meet with. He has run with blood, instead of using a simple case. He talks of having weather mid pan bezsten, II. p. 74; whence Prior's line, 'the Colonel toasted with the best.' This with or mid had expressed inter in the Old English.

I give a list of many Scandinavian words used by Layamon, which must have made their way to the Severn from the North and East; we shall find many more in Dorsetshire a few years later. Club, from the Icelandic klubba
Draht (haustus), from the Icelandic drattr
Hap (fortune), from the Icelandic happ, good luck ¹
Hit, from the Icelandic hitta
Hustinge (house court), from the Norse hus and thing
Raken (rush), from the Swedish raka, to riot about ²
Riven, from the Icelandic rifa (rumpere)
Semen (beseem), from the Norse sama, to fit
To-dascte (dash out), from the Danish daske, to slap

Instead of the Old English word for insula, Layamon enploys æite (ait), a word well known to all Etonians. It is the Danish ey with the Definite Article tacked on to the end in the usual Scandinavian way; ey-it, eyt, as Mr. Dasent tells us. Layamon writes swain and swein (puer), thus following the Vowel sound of the Danish sveinn, not that of the Old English swan. He has the Danish form cros (crux); but the French croice was the usual form in Western England. We see the Scandinavian Whitsuntide for the first time in English; the term Pentecost had been employed in the Saxon Chronicle. There are some other common words, which he is the first English writer to use. Thus he, living near the Severn, has taken gives (catenæ) from the Welsh gevyn; and cutte (secare) from the Welsh cutt, a little piece: this last has almost driven out the Old English carve. He employs sturte (started), akin to the Old Dutch storten; and has a new Verb talk, springing Bal (our ball), draf, and picchen (pangere), from tale.

Hence happen, happy, haply, came into England and supplanted older words.
Hence the Rake's Progress.

are akin to the Dutch or German words bal, draf, picken. Rucken is found both in Dutch and in Layamon's work; twenty years after his time it appears as rock (agitare). He has also halede (duxit), the Frisian halia; as often happens in English, the word hale remains, and by its side stands another form haul, which cropped up ninety years after this time; at first, they were most likely pronounced in the same way. Layamon says, 'weodeleden his fluhtes,' his flights became weak (I. p. 122): the Verb has a High German brother, and from this may come our verb wobble. At I. p. 275, we see for the first time the word agaste (terruit), whence comes our aghast. For the origin of this word we must go back to the Gothic usgeisjan. Our ghostly and ghastly spring from widely different sources.

Soon after Layamon's time the Legend of St. Margaret seems to have been compiled.\(^1\) It has forms akin to the Worcester manuscript printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, and in other particulars it resembles a well-known Dorsetshire work. But it touches the East Midland in its forms beon and aren (sunt); and its Participles terminate sometimes in ende, sometimes in inde. The Past Participle islein (page 11) resembles what we saw in the Peterborough Chronicle. There is Layamon's new word talk, and his expression to lay on. This piece may have been composed or transcribed not far from his county, but nearer to the Great Line; es, not est, is sometimes the ending of the second Person Singular. The Southern fur and the Northern gast are found close together. We see here one Vowel-change that has had great influence

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upon Standard English; words like deare and meare are written darck and marche; there is also smart. Hence it comes that we pronounce Derby as Darby (see Domesday Book), a change that we owe to the North West. Lavamon was fond of the Old English diphthong ee. but in the present work this is often altered to ea, as in the words clean, heal, least. It is to the Southern and Western shires that we owe the preservation of ea, a favourite combination of our forefathers; the word flea has never changed its spelling. We see in the Legend both the old sira and the new so; teep replaces tel; ron comes once more. The wimman of the East Midland makes way for wummon: we now follow the former sound in the Plural and the latter sound in the Singular: a curious instance of the widely different sources of our Standard English. The old cwap is replaced by our modern quoth. There is a struggle between the Old English æl and the Latin oleum; eoli is the upshot. Layamon's wræstle becomes wrestle. The old leosan is once written leowse (p. 13).

As to Consonants: lagu becomes lake, and Layamon's gullen becomes zellen (clamare); the e here seems to point to Salop, where this vowel was used for the Southern u and the Northern i. On reading at p. 13 pu filest (tu fallis), we may perhaps derive from this verb our fib, even as geleafa turns to belief. We find the old f in feat (p. 17), and our modern vet (vat) p. 18; these are two forms of one word. The t is inserted; thus glispian becomes glistnian, our glisten.

In Adjectives: the ending ful was driving out its brethren; we here find jearful (pavidus) for the first

time. Orrmin's gazhenn is seen in a new compound, ungeinliche (ungainly). A new phrase like steorcnaket (stark naked) crops up; the first syllable probably stands for steort (cauda), with the usual interchange of t and c.

Among the Pronouns we find hwa so eaver (quicunque). The Numeral an bears new constructions; in p. 8 we read hire moder was an pe frourede hire, 'her mother was one (person) that' &c.; the old turn of the sentence would have been 'one of those that' &c. Our phrase 'it is all one to me' is seen in p. 5, al me is an.

As to Verbs: seem gets a sense unknown to Orrmin and Layamon, that of videri; his teed semden of irn (p. 9). We find a verb formed from wrence (dolus), wrenchen ut of pe weie (p. 4); our wrench now implies brute force, not trickery.\(^1\) In the same page the old gelamp (accidit) is cut down to lomp; Mrs. Pipchin, in Dickens, says of a thwarted child, 'she must lump it;' this must mean 'take what may chance.'

Among the Adverbs we see the first trace of our downright, in 'dashed him adunriht to the earth' (p. 12); anonright and forthright have now been swept away. The Adverb far is dropped in the phrase fiftene milen from Antioche (p. 2).

As to Prepositions: out of is employed in a new sense at p. 6, 'he was enraged almost ut of his iwitte,' out of his wits. The of with a Substantive is employed instead of an Adjective in the same page; eawles of irne. The Old English had used phrases like mid pisum wordum,

¹ I have seen wrench used for dolus by Dr. Layton, after the beginning of the English Reformation.

he' &c.; a Pronoun is now substituted for the Noun. At p. 22 we read, 'wi\(\text{pat} \) began to yell.'

There are many new words in this short piece; among them are drupest (most drooping) and seemly, from the Icelandic drûpa and sæmiligr. In the first syllable of pwertover (p. 10) we have followed the Icelandic pvert (transversus), rather than the Old English pweorh (perversus); our verb thwert, thwart, cropped up twenty years later in East Anglia; it was long before overthwart made There are many words akin to way for athwart. Dutch and German, such as drivel, gape, stutten (whence our stutter), and shudder; toggen (trahere) seems more akin in form to the Dutch tocken than to the Old English teogan. The word schillinde (sonans), at page 19, akin to both the High German and the Icelandic, tells us whence comes our shrill, one of the words into which r has found its way. The former wipstew is now seen as stew The verb studge (go haltingly) is found; (compescere). schoolboys still say 'I was stodged in my lesson.' Put is used for ponere (p. 22), as well as for trudere. There is a new verb, diveri, which is coupled with to dread; hence our dither.

The Legend of St. Katherine (Abbotsford Club), seems to have been drawn up much about the same time as the foregoing piece. It must have been a translation from the French, if we may judge by the many French idioms; Layamon, though he too was a translator, stuck far more closely to the old idioms. The Legend seems to belong to the neighbourhood of the Great Line, perhaps to Southern Salop; we here see Layamon's agaste, and Orrmin's took on, an hwat (una

res) sumwhat, ter (ibi), and dun; heo (illa) becomes ha; the Latin clamas is Englished by clepes, not clepest. Cucurrit is Englished by the Northern ron, not by arn. There is a Southern version of this piece, where buhe's (inclinat) is mistaken for bueð (est), and is altered into beod, at p. 20; wid into mid, ha into heo. At page 97 we find in one line buhsume and beisume, meaning the same thing; the one comes from the old bûgan (flecti), the other from begean, another form of the same word; this is a curious instance of two variations of the English synonym for obediens running on together for 140 years after the Conquest. The former awiht (aliquid) is now written ewt, showing us that aw was sounded like the French ou. The old Wodnesdæg now becomes Wednesdei. and dol (hebes) becomes dul; the wimman of the East, as we here see, becomes wumman in the West and South. The oa appears again, replacing the more usual o; we find boa.

The old *antig* now becomes *empti*, with a *p* inserted; and the Verb *strangian*, taking a Consonant, becomes *strengoen*.

Fault has often been found with the word metropolis as applied to London, when capital is meant; our true English mother-state is Anglen, far to the East. Still, in this piece (p. 3), we hear of pe moder burh (capital) of Alexander's kingdom. In p. 63 timber gets the new sense of materia, just like the Greek word for wood in Aristotle's 'Ethics.' The old Substantive leof (vir amatus) is turned into luve, our love, at p. 82: we have now run leof and lufu, the person and the thing, into one word. The old mix (stercus) is here

used as a term of reproach, and perhaps gave rise to our far less severe word minx. At page 90 comes slec, whence our slush may come, since the old word is here coupled with sloh, our slough. The word fode (cibus) took the further meaning of alumnus all through the Western half of England, and is used in that sense in the Legend of St. Katherine. We now see a French word made a Verbal Noun; as desputing.

A new Adjective, rudi (ruddy), is formed from rud (ruber). The ending ful was coming more into use, for we find the new compound pinful.

In Pronouns: we see the word self used (Orrmin had done this), as if it were the Noun person; at p. 58 comes pe ilke self (the same person) is Godes sune; in the Southern copy of the Legend this has been altered into seelf pe ilke. A curious new French idiom crops up at p. 110: wrecche mon pat pu hit art. At p. 74 comes he het hise (he bade his men); here the Noun is dropped after the Pronoun, as was often the case after mine and thine. In p. 128, the Pronoun stands for a Noun: bisohte him wið pe brond, that is, 'besought the man who bore the brand.' Something like this may be found in Gothic, but not in Old English.

As to Numerals, the old over had not yet been supplanted by the French second; at page 78, Katherine is promised that she shall be pe over after pe Cwen; the old over stood for both secundus and alius. I have already touched upon our phrase, 'every other man.'

The confusion between Strong and Weak Verbs was going on throughout England; what in the South was ahongen (the right form of the Transitive Perfect),

became hongeden in the Severn country (p. 18); we even find arisede instead of aras (arose). At p. 102 we see the old idiom 'me longed to go,' where the Verb is Impersonal; this is altogether changed at p. 84, where we find be cwen longede for to seon; but it may be that cwen is here a Dative. A Participle replaces a Noun at p. 131; pu min iweddet (bride). When we see such a phrase as that in p. 53, don it buten ewt to leosen (do it without losing aught, the French sans perdre), we cannot help thinking that the Infinitive in en must have had some slight influence, in forming our new idiom as regards what are seemingly Verbal Nouns in ing. old dugan had always meant prodesse; it now begins to take the Scandinavian sense of decere; in the Northern version we read (p. 99) as Drihtin deah; the Verb in the Southern version is altered into ah (debet); we still say 'that will do very well for him.' A Verb is now seen (p. 89) formed from the old gleam (splendor). and another from the old clatrung.

Among the Adverbs found in the Legend, hiderto is found for the first time at p. 24; hwen se eaver at p. 130; heonne ford wardes (henceforward) at p. 112. At p. 37 comes eaverihwer; this is the old gehwær (ubique) with the usual Twelfth Century prefix ever; our every where is now spelt wrong, for this is one of the few words in which we still sound a corruption of the old ge, so beloved of our forefathers. In p. 110 adat tenne (till then) comes, instead of 'till that time.' We have seen that mid alle or wip alle had hitherto meant wholly; it now takes the meaning of moreover, in which sense we still use it; at p. 99 we hear that Christ came

himself with many maidens wio alle. A new Adverbial sense (it seems to come from Scandinavia) is bestowed on up at p. 47; cwede ham up, 'give them up.' This up was soon to follow many other Verbs.

The swa or as is used in new ways; at p. 3 we read of a tyrant heavene as he wes; at p. 72 bearninde al as he was; the French que must have been the pattern regarded in forming this new idiom. The as is used, where we should put that; in p. 86, 'they saw as (St. Jerome's quia) they smeared;' other English writers have both who so and who that for quicunque. Another French phrase, par si que, seems to have brought into England a new conditional idiom, instead of the old with that; at p. 102 we read 'let me live, swa pat (provided that) I lose nothing.' The whole of the Legend must be a translation from the French, and repays careful study.

As to Prepositions: we find for hireself, p. 6, where the for is used like the Scandinavian fyrir mer and the French pour moi, 'so far as I am concerned.' This reminds us of the wis for woruld, in the Chronicle of the year 1057. The upon is employed in a new sense at p. 53: ping pat is ivent upon him, 'a thing that is formed after his likeness;' as we now say 'to form himself upon Brummell.' The onont (anent) is used most freely.

There are some new Interjections; hei is used at p. 31, a cry of wonder or pleasure; this French cry has taken deep root in England; in Derbyshire I have heard persons (above the lower class) begin their sentences with hey, but; in other parts of our land it is sounded like eh, Chaucer's ey. Orrmin's la here

becomes low, our lo. At page 113 comes hu nu, dame! which is something wholly new, and points to the French; to them we owe most of our Interjections.

We find the Scandinavian word untidi, here applied to weather; tidi is found in East Anglia not much later. The word scourge now appears. The French influenced the spelling of the compiler of the St. Katherine; we have seen eoli (oleum); this now follows the French, and is written eoile, pronounced e-ool-e, just as in Scott's 'Pirate' they talk of a whale's ulyie or ulzie. The word (see Littré) was written oile in France until about 1280. Shakspeare writes unanealed, following the English form æl, but the Verb anoyle was written in the year 1588 ('Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. 255). We also find puison (venenum). The French lei, standing for religion, even as it did in France, is used just before the English lahes, our laws (p. 17). What was written mannisse in the Essex Homilies now becomes the Frenchified mannesse (humanity) at p. 53. The Verb earn of the Northern copy is turned into ofserven (deserve) in the South (p. 121). Me, the French mais, is often used to begin a sentence.

The Legend of St. Juliana (Early English Text Society) is probably due to the same hand as the foregoing Legends. It has Orrmin's words want and huting; it has Layamon's phrase no more, through and through, and his French Interjection O; stew, drivel, out of his wit, and many such, are repeated. As to Vowels: the a is sometimes aw, as Sawmuel (p. 62); showing us that aw might stand for the broad Italian a as well as for the French ou. Na is found, and also our

no; spearc becomes sparke. Contraction is at work, for reafode (rapui) becomes refde (reft) at p. 40. The Southern version of this piece alters fan (foes) into van, and dry is written dru (p. 33).

The final Consonant n is, in this Southern version, altogether pared away; we find (p. 53) pu havest ido, not idon; this Southern corruption all but rooted itself in our Standard English two hundred years later. We find both milzful and milzful, showing Orrmin's new sound of the z; it was to stand for s as well as for y; owing to it we write citizen and chastise for the old citeien and chastize. The earlier flugon (fugerunt) is cut down to flue at p. 53. The old appeal beforan Gode appears as for Gode at p. 14, the oath so often used in Shakspeare; this was in use in Gloucestershire about 1300.

We see, at p. 17, the old Adjective eornost turned into a Substantive; thou shalt be beaten, as on ernesse (by way of earnest), the Latin pignus. Our word lust still kept its true meaning, for at p. 45 it is used of desire to pray. We find such new phrases as top to toe, fear neither wind nor weather, in his teeth, p. 36; that is, 'against his own will.'

At p. 70 we see an Adjective coupled with a Participle; water is wallinde hat (boiling hot); two pages earlier a Substantive had been used, walm hat, as in the oldest English. The Adjective easy is used in a new construction at p. 56, we been eð to biwihelen (beguile). We see, in the Pronouns, the old ich it am, which was not to last much longer; we were to use the I am he. But the French que reappears in this piece; at p. 65 (Southern version), stands pi meiden an pat ich am.

In Verbs there is the great change seen 250 years earlier in Yorkshire; the Second Person Singular of the Strong Perfect ends in est instead of e: pu fundest him treowe (p. 28); and this comes even in the Southern version. Another corruption of the Verb for esset is in p. 50; hwet te mahte been; the Southern version here holds to the better form, hwet tet were. At p. 61 a Participle is treated as an Adjective, and takes a Superlative ending; kempene icorenest; we now often hear men talk of 'the damdest rogue.' The verb do, after long disuse of the idiom, crops up again to save the repetition of a foregoing verb; 'every thing should praise thee, and ich do,' (p. 64). The do is also once more prefixed to the Imperative; do sei me, p. 40. Bisemed pe (te decet) is used at p. 55 of the Southern version. where the other has only semed. The verb rue (pity) is no longer used impersonally, but governs an Accusative; at p. 56 comes areow pe seolven.

Among the Adverbs we see hwerfore, hwer so ever, ase forð as, (as far as, p. 47). In the Southern version (p. 61) pear as is used for the Latin ubi; it is the first hint of our whereas. In the same page we read in an weorre as he wes; here the as stands for ubi, which in the other version is Englished by per.

At p. 68 we see ne buten used in the unusual sense of viv; nefde ha buten iseid put &c., 'she had but spoken, when.'

The Prepositions are used in new senses. In Old English, 'to mingle with,' was well known; the idea is now carried a little further, and we read in p. 22, cut (acquainted) with pe king. At p. 5 comes, he were well with

pe king. There is a curious idiom at p. 71; swiše wiš hire ut of mine ehsihöe, 'quick with her out of my sight;' we saw something of the kind in Layamon, who also dropped the verb. The ut of is used in a new sense, where the mental cause of an action is to be marked; a tyrant began tendrin ut of teone, 'to burn, out of annoyance,' p. 29.

The verb scald, the Swedish sholla, appears in p. 71. There is a new word bistapet (constitutus), akin to the German; eighty years later this was to be written bestead. In p. 78 we see the Old and the New face to face; hitherto England had reckoned the days of the month in the Roman way; this was now to be changed; we read ope sixtende dei of Feovereles moned, pe fortende kalende of Mearch pat cumed efter. We remark in the above sentence, that the Danish n has made its way into the numeral; it was kept at bay in Gloucestershire even so late as 1300. A curious French word is seen at p. 56, gencling, better known to us as jangling; the g seems to have already assumed its soft sound; in the Southern version this word is exchanged for zuhelunge.

The treatise on Hali Meidenhad was most likely written by the compiler of the three foregoing Legends. Some of the old words reappear, as eoile, puisun, wrenche, low (ecce); there is the same contraction in words, as prof for perof, sworn for sworen; the old sceawian (ostendere), which had already undergone many changes, becomes scho (p. 17), as we still pronounce it. The c often becomes ch; we see the two forms side by side at p. 35, where the pangs of childbirth are called a stikinde stiche; this last substantive has been rather lowered

since those days. The ending of the Plural of the Present is altogether clipped in the verbs twinni and totweane, p. 13.

The old hreowlic (tristis) had been altered into reowful; from this we see a new Substantive formed, reowfulnesse. We find in the middle of a sentence, mare harm is, p. 9; an early instance of a parenthesis. The exchange between that and as goes on; hwa pat sehe, 'whoso sees,' comes at p. 17; se sikernesse as ha was in, p. 7; seid ase muchel ase &c., p. 5, points to the future 'that is as much as to say.' There is also as well as. At p. 39 we see moni an; the last word stands for the old man. At p. 19 is a wonderful innovation; odres is used for the Genitive Plural (aliorum). At p. 5 of lah stands where we should say below; our by has often replaced an earlier of. Our curious phrase for omnino is seen at p. 35, 'leose for gode.' Our verb stickle seems to be foreshadowed by stikelinde (steadfastly), at p. 17.

In Verbs: our show forth comes for the first time, I think, at p. 3.

As to the Prepositions: there is a new sense for of at p. 5; a good maiden is free of hireself, 'has command over herself;' hence comes 'free of the guild,' &c. There is a new form of the Partitive of at p. 21, wile been of pe lut (turba); here one should come before the Preposition. How the of had encroached on the old Genitive form is strikingly shown in lust of a lute hwile (p. 47); we should here say 'a little moment's pleasure,' and this last construction would cleave fast to the Old English. Our face to face was before the Conquest of ansine to ansine; this is pared down in the present

treatise, where it is nebbe to nebbe, dropping the first Preposition. There is an imitation of a Latin idiom at p. 21, in the phrase crune upon crune; something like this came in the Chronicle. At p. 41 comes kepan half dale wið mon (keep half measures with).

We find two or three Scandinavian words, such as cake and gealde (from geldr, that is, sterilis); there is also crupel (cripple), akin to the Dutch. The Old English ceówan has the sense of jaw, as in Ælfric and in the Homilies of 1180; the maiden is told, in p. 31, that the husband 'chit te and cheowe' pe.' A little lower down, she is further threatened; for he 'beateo pe and buste' pe;' this last verb is the Icelandic beysta, our baste (ferire). Hence also the French baston or bâton. Our scream is found for the first time, and seems to be a confusion between the Old English hream and the Welsh ysgarm, each meaning the same; there is also a Scandinavian skramsa.¹

To this time belong a few pieces printed by Dr. Morris in his 'Old English Homilies' (pp. 183-217; 245-267). They seem to have been compiled in Salop; we find the Northern aren (sunt) and talden side by side with the Southern ido (factum), willed, and libbinde. The old mænan (lugere) becomes mone (p. 211), our moan, a change which was long in prevailing throughout England; it was useful, since it distinguished this sense of the word from the other sense, statuere (our mean). We also see dol (p. 199) instead of the old dæl (pars); we have now different senses for the nouns dole and deal.

 $^{^{1}}$ The s that has got prefixed to hream reminds us of $\mathit{cwysan},$ that has now become $\mathit{squeeze}.$

On reading a sentence like Godd of alle godd ful (p. 209), we see what a loss we have had in the disappearance of our accents; in earlier times the accent distinguished gôda (bona) from God (Deus). Lah (humilis) is changed into lowe at p. 211; it may have been sounded like the French ou, for it is written louh in other parts of England. The change of o into u is seen in the new bune, our boon; and schute for the old sceetan.

As to Consonants: the old burg becomes buri, which is kept in names of places like Shrewsbury; the other old form burug is here seen as buruwe, whence comes our burrow. The verb eglian now becomes eilin, our ail. At p. 263 the old cweep he is turned into quod he; this we have already seen elsewhere.

In Substantives the old declensions had been so completely lost that eagan (oculi) is constantly written ehnen, as if the old form had been eaganan. English was becoming very terse; for we see in p. 205, ich habbe iheved of over monnes; we should say, 'I have had part of other man's goods.' The new rit hond (p. 217) was taking the place of the old right half. At p. 249, the phrase bi stale (by stealth) is used, implying secrecy, not robbery. Ir the treatise Sawles Warde we see husebonde bearing the two meanings of conjux and paterfamilias; 'it is here opposed sometimes to wif, sometimes to huswif. At p. 265 we read in wre ende, 'in our quarters,' this sense of the old ende was soon to vanish, and to be preserved in proper names only, like Audley End.

¹ The latter sense was borne by hosebonde man in Wickliffe; se St. Luke xii. 39. Tyndale has here, good man of the house.

Among Adjectives, ful was now supplanting earlier endings, as has been remarked before; we here meet rueful and wilful. The es was being used for the ending of the Genitive Plural, as we saw elsewhere; at p. 189 comes alle helpleses help. Orrmin's lasse (minor) is seen as lessere; our Bible talks of 'the lesser light.'

In Pronouns: we see the Accusative used for the Nominative, as we do in 'it's me: ' at p. 211 comes beo be world (dead) to me and me to be worlde. At p. 265 we see that the old Dual is being encroached upon; two persons are addressed, first as eider of ow, and in the same line comes incher noores. The old ælc (quisque) is spun out to eaver euch an (p. 263), an is steadily replacing man; in the same page comes anes heorte (alicujus cor); an having long stood for quidam, now, as in Essex, stands for aliquis as well. Another idiom connected with an is in page 209; ich of alle sunfulle am on mest ifuled, 'of all sinners I am the one most defiled;' fourscore years later was to come, 'I am one the fairest.' There is a new construction at p. 215, twofold of bittre; dæl as usual, is dropped; we should now say, 'twice as much hitter.'

The same terseness is found in the exclamation, O muchel menske to been moder, (p. 189) 'O great honour to be mother;' here is should come after the first Substantive. There is another ellipse in Godd, pi milce, p. 211; where give me is not expressed. What was ahest (debes) in the Hali Meidenhad is here seen as owest;

One critic was very angry with me for using this classic Old English form.

this is the form of the word we use to imply indebtedness; while oughtest implies duty. We have already seen cnawlece (confiteor); this becomes at p. 205 icnoulechie, acknowledge. The idea of our 'burst with rage' is seen in liun iburst (leo iratus), at p. 255.

The old sone swa becomes ase sone ase, at p. 213. Our yea is sometimes impressively used in the middle of a sentence; at p. 265 we read, militi to don al, ze, makie to cwakien &c.

In Prepositions: the of is still further employed; in p. 209 stands be zeove (donum) of be holi goste, that is, 'the Spirit which was given;' at p. 213 comes gon me betere ut, 'turn out better for me,' evenire.

We light on the new word dingle, applied to a recess of the sea; and schimmeo or schimereo (fulget); these are akin to German words.

In Salop forms that were used in Lothian and Yorkshire seem to have clashed with forms employed in Gloucestershire and Dorset; something resembling the Ormulum was the upshot. In each succeeding century Salop comes to the front. The Wohunge of ure Lauerd seems to have been written here about 1210, (Morris' 'Old English Homilies,' First Series, p. 269). In 1350, or so, the Romance of William of Palerne was compiled here. In 1420, John Audlay wrote his poems in the same dialect (Percy Society, No. 47). In 1580, Churchyard had not dropped all his old Salopian forms. Baxter, who came from Salop, appeared about 1650 as one of the first heralds of the change that was then passing over Standard English prose, and that was substituting Dryden's style for that of Milton. Soon

after 1700, Farquhar, in his 'Recruiting Officer,' gives us much of the Salopian brogue. This intermingling of Northern and Southern forms in Salop produced something not unlike Standard English; we must always keep the Great Sundering Line in view.

One piece, which seems to belong to this shire is the Wohnage of ure Lauerd, which I have already named. We here see Orrmin's pu was (eras), hwat herte, kinsman, uppo, and til (ad); also the Northern arn (sunt), have pai, buhande, I (ego), sin (peccatum), raise, he makes; the strangest instance is pai setis up (attollunt), page 283, which is a more Northern form than anything we have seen as yet in the Midland. There are also the more Southern forms poa and huide. The combination ui for the old y was long peculiar to the Severn country.

There is much paring of letters, as in cald (vocatus), offeard (timens). The old hleahtor (risus) becomes lahter. The old la (ecce) at last becomes lo, p. 283; we have preferred the kiss found in this work to the cuss of the South; hredden (liberare) becomes rid, p. 273, though Scotland still talks of the redding straik. Consonants are pared away, especially the guttural at the end of words; we see gastli, hertili, rewli. At p. 271, pu macodest (fecisti) is replaced by pu mades; the same change may be remarked a few years later in East Anglia, at the other end of the Great Line. When we see such a form as bituhen (between) we may be pretty sure that the h in the middle of a word had lost much of its old guttural sound about 1210; ahful was used where we say awful.

We find the Substantive sweting, which was long confined to the shires near Salop. We see the change in the meaning of cheap; it was a Noun meaning bargain, as at p. 281, but at p. 273 we read winnen luve libiliche cheape. The Preposition not being employed here, men in time came to look upon cheap as an Adverb.

Turning to the Pronouns, we see how the Nominative hwa came to be used as a Relative; at p. 275 is mai he luve hwa ne luves his broder? the hwa here stands for the old swa hwa swa (whoso). At p. 281 comes the idiom often used by Dickens, as hwa se seie (as who should say), 'as if a man should say;' the French used comme qui dirait. At p. 285 the writer gives an offering, swuch as hit is. In p. 281 we light on swa strang a swing; in earlier times there would have been no Article here.

Among the Verbs, we may remark that cube is encroaching on milite (potui); at p. 271 comes tin blod ne cubes tu wibhalde. In the same page make is followed by a Past Participle, just as huve was in earlier times; he makes him luved. The verb tell takes the new meaning of 'to have influence upon;' pi dead telles riht in al my luve, p. 275. The old bith (inclinavi) becomes the Weak Perfect, I buhed, at p. 277.

The forms hwils (dum) and as tah (quasi), first seen in the Essex neighbourhood, have now made their way to Shropshire, at the other end of the Great Line; hwils becomes hwils pat (p. 275), in Orrmin's fashion.

In Prepositions: we find luve of pe (p. 273), that is, 'love given to thee;' a distinction was wanted to prevent confusion with pi luve, that is 'love coming from thee.' At p. 283 comes lahlen pe to hokere (laugh thee to scorn).

At p. 281 is deore cheap hefdes two n me (a dear bargain hadst thou in me!); the on or in here is much the same as anent, which is used so freely in this piece. The in thus employed reappears in our 'I was mistaken in you.'

At p. 287 comes carpe (loqui). The former pwear (transversus) is seen as querfaste (p. 285), whence our queer; a word that we still apply to the doings of a poor man that acts in an odd way; if the man be rich, his doings become eccentric. The Scandinavian i rattes (in rags) is in page 277; the original word is rögg (villus); this is a good example of the interchange between t or d and g.

A version of the Ancren Riwle (shortly to be described) was compiled in Salop about this time. The interchange between u and o is plainly seen, when $m \acute{o}r$ (palus) becomes mure, our moor, p. 328. The old baluhful (p. 114) was kept in the South, but in Salop it was cut down to baleful. In pronouncing should, we drop the l; this is seen in schuden at page 416. The old Genitive Plural halgana (sanctorum) is strangely altered at p. 94; the halezene of another version becomes here halehenes; the Scotch have preserved halloween, the one Genitive Plural of this kind left in our island.\(^1\) At p. 184 we find a henginge, the Verbal Noun struck off from the Verb. The old slipur now becomes slibbri (slippery). A new Adjective is

¹ I suspect that it has been preserved, from the Scotch mistaking the last syllable for *een, evening*. Some parish churches in England were called *All hollands* (Omnium Sanctorum), and this name may perhaps be still alive.

formed from leosan; this is lowse (solutus), the sound of which we have kept unaltered; in the Southern version this was written leste.

At p. 74, we see three different forms for labitur; in Salop it is slides, in another county not far off slides, in the South slit. Salop preferred undertoc (p. 114) to underfangen, and the new overtoken to oftoken (p. 244). At p. 272 a Past Participle is turned into an Adverb by adding liche; masedliche (stultè). A curious instance of the true Old English alliteration is to be found at p. 334; the men and wummen and children of one text is altered into were and wif and wenchel. The Scandinavian ploh, gris, windoh, and uggi (timere), replace the suluh, pig, purl, and agrupie of the South. Salop has the new scrattes (scratcheth), where the other version has schrepes; here is the interchange between t and p. In this copy there are many French terms, such as awter (altar), brought in, where the other copies had Teutonic words.

We now come to the Ancren Riwle (Camden Society), as compiled in the Dorset Dialect, about 1220. We can see that this is the original version by a sentence at p. 76, ze pat pleieð (luditis), an idea which well suits the context. In one copy of the piece, this Verb has been altered into the French pleideð; in the Salopian copy into the English synonym for pleid, moten; in either case the sense of the passage has been mistaken. Reference is made in the Ancren Riwle to the earlier Legend of St. Margaret; but the o has made further encroachments on the a, as two, whoso, no, lone for læn.

¹ From this Salopian gris (porcus) comes our griskin.

(commodatum), oten (oats), clos, sope, liftode. combination ea is much in use; læne (macer) becomes leane: hlahed (ridet) turns into lauhwed, the vowels of which we still keep; it is like the name Staunton. Here there can be no doubt that au stands for the sound of the Italian a. The sounds of a and u interchange, for wogan becomes wowen, our woo; inoh (satis) and sloh become inouh and slouh (slew); the changed sound of the o was kept at bay for long in the Eastern shires. Ou is here often written for the old u. The gest (vadis) of this version was altered into gas in Salop, and into the longer-lived gost in some county still further to the South East. The eo becomes i; feol and secones are now seen as file and sicness; it sometimes becomes e, for herd (pecus) replaces heard. Indeed, in the lexicons, heard, herd, and hard are put down under the same head, as varying forms of one Old English word: herd in the present work is set apart for pecus, while hord had long before been appropriated to thesaurus. Much in the same way feoh had stood for pecus (the kindred word), præmium, and divitiæ, all three. Led and spred are found here, and not the lad and sprad of more Northern shires. The old awel (subula) becomes aul; it was written both owel and ewel rather later in The swelgan of old now becomes swoluwe (swallow); the insertion of the Vowel between l and w is curious. The letter n is altogether cast out, when nemde (named) replaces the old nemnede. The t is added to the old grunan, which becomes grunten. The hard g is often softened; bælg (venter) becomes beli; stige (hara) becomes sti; hien and weien are in the same

case. This q is often changed into a w; as sawe (dictum) for sagu, volewen (sequi) for folgian, zuwede for geogud, nawenunge for fagnung. This last is a good instance how the change of a Consonant can mark off a difference in the sense of a word; the harmless fuin and the base fawn are both corruptions of the same word, the old fægnian, which had the two senses gaudere and blandiri. In one sentence, in p. 348, we see the two forms scotten and schotten (solvere); townsmen pay scot, sailors have a shot in the locker. The French c is employed for s, as in kusce (osculum); also milce (misericordia). l sometimes makes its way into a word; menged (miscet) now becomes mongled; on the other hand, bælg is turned into bag. A usage of Orrmin's reappears; the s now ends, not only the Genitive Singular, but the Genitive Plural; thus in page 106 we read of 'her tears, and te oore Maries.' The last word is Plural.

We hear of St. Jame in p. 10; hence comes our Jon. At p. 412, we read, of ham is lutel strence; eighty years, later, this was to be 'of them is little force;' cfirst hundred years later still, force would become mad was We read in p. 418 of a parish officer who looked taking hedges; he is here called the heiward, and the p name Hayward still lingers among us. Amoniæ An-Adjectives appears untowen (untrained), whicill sound afterwards to become wanton, the un and the waromb; iche the same meaning. The ending ful was comineche (quishere find pinful (painful) and dredful; earlie were disappearing; thus the porniht of old was used for iste, into porni. In ston-stille (p. 414) we have a thick un as hit prefixed to give strength to an Adjective.

seems to have given us mi deore (ma chère), p. 98, where the Adjective stands alone. At p. 258 we read, his earlich ariste; here early for the first time becomes an Adjective; it had hitherto been only an Adverb. In p. 176 we find a wholly new idiom, which must have come from France, replacing the old English Superlative, pe meste dredful secnesse of alle. This new form became very common in the following Century.

In Pronouns: Orrmin's hwat, standing for the Latin Relative guod, is laid aside in favour of hwuche, the word that we still use for the Neuter Relative; at p. 354 comes peawes, bi hwuche me climbed to pe blisse. This was to be found thirty years later in Yorkshire as well as in Dorset. Yet this hwuche is almost always employed in the present work to stand for the kindred Latin qualis; this old sense lasted in the West down to 1400. We find ancren hwas blisse' (p. 348); this translation of quarum would have mished an earlier generation. The $\hat{a}n$ (one) is seen, before, standing for sum man, aliquis; ter on geo Mue 252), 'where a man goes.' We now say 'your enemy,' spred and 'your traitor;' this last is found at p. 194. Norther Norther is new idiom of Verbs is repeated in p. 344; it was ar of sins of grucchunge, . . . of sitten to longe; Dorset. t Infinitive is used as a Verbal Noun, something (swallow), Infinitive with the Article in Greek. At p. 360 de by side the old Imperative and the later one is curious.

nemde (name the let; let oore atiffen . . . abide we. 1 Here the added to the temestimes use the older form: 'Come weal, come woe, hard g is ofterd go.' 'Be Thine the glory, and be mine the shame.' stige (hara) becc pith is there in these Imperatives than in the cum-

writer does not use the Plural leteo (sinite) in addressing The Participle is yoked, like an his Anchoresses. Adjective, to a Substantive; we hear of the vallinde ruel (falling sickness); hence come our writing muterials. and many such flexible forms. A pithy phrase was once applied to our two last Stuart Kings: it was sais of Charles that he 'could if he would:' of James, there 'he would if he could.' On looking to the Ancree Riwle, p. 338, we read he ne mei hwon he wule, be nothe hwule pet he muhte. This seems to have been a byrg in well known in 1220. The Transitive Verb stop is fe the in p. 72. In p. 106 is the phrase bring to noult, an leads beren him veolauredden (company). At page Se. oder hear of jugglers who are said to makien chere version faces). pilke, used

We find new Adverbs cropping up, such floucester-(at once), enes a wike, hu se ever, hwerse eveAt p. 26 we so muche pe rader, bivorenhond (beforehand), se source of of feor was later to be written afar; eallunga ands for one, by utterliche, which now took a new sense. r for the first (our albeit) is remarkable; something of the word was occurs in Middle High German; the al falter, making the completeness of the concession made.

see a mistake, ropeated six hundred year. Reliquiæ An-Macaulay in his Lays; what should '; we still sound (certè) is turned into a Verb, I wis. Ote it womb; iche for the first time in the Adverb usquivritten eche (quisis vuele inouh, very bad; inouh rede

86). A new Adverb, greatly, eror have been used for iste, much; see p. 426. Nout (non) is was not thick un as hit the old no. Hwar ase is in p. 200.

We now say 'as narrowly as ever she can,' instead of the ase neruhliche ase heo ever mei (p. 414). The word sona (mox) has new offspring, sonre and sonest.

An attempt is made to bring into vogue a new form, to do duty for a Preposition; at p. 260 comes 'ine rtude of in, his cradel herbarued him;' his cradle supseied the lack of an inn; in his stead had been used theore, but only referring to a person, not to a thing. The

which would have been used earlier all over England, Relaishes the kindred Latin per at p. 300; for this the that v versions of the Ancren Riwle use wid and purch. peawes 10 we mark how the old one fine came to be changed; found tralopian copy it is found as one vent. in the Dorset Yet this mont, not far from our anent. In the same page work to sw the old Preposition zeond (per) was dropping lasted in the it was still employed in Dorset, but was blisse (p. 34 one shire by over, in another by in. At in ished and our common expression, pet fur (ignis) go Much 252), which the new vor pe luve of him.

kinds not 'you'c-sliter now becomes backbiter; there are spred a crmin's chaffer), overturn, withdraw, withhold. A Norther are for sinve is formed from treow; this is triws, it was it Infinite Ember days, the Scandinavian Imbru-Dorset. Infinite the first time in the guise of umbridei; (swallow) de by sid are the sole survivors in English of is curious. The let; armed from our lost preposition umbe, nemde (name the old umstroke (circumference) added to the sometimes of the old umstroke (the chard g is oftend go.' B Icelandic glop (incuria); hence stige (hara) beed with let! iment.' Sorh (dolor) had taken

the shape of secruwe in Dorset, but it remained sorhe in Salop (see page 64). The old recende becomes ringing (page 140), whence our ranging. In page 128, we get told that a false nun 'cheflet of idel;' hence have arithes to chatter and to chaff. Torple (cadere) seems tensoformed from top (caput); hence comes our topple. Twas

The East Midland dialect was pushing its con_{le-bere} into the South, for many Scandinavian words aren; we for the first time in this work; as

oming in Chough Kofa, Icelandic where the Kroppa, Icelandic Crop, carpere this leads Doggr, Icelandic Dog Dusk Dulsk, Danish ке huse, oбer Flaksa, Swedish esent version Flask (flash) Gromr, Icelandic is pilke, used Masa, Old Norse Groom Mased, delirus Gloucesterfusedly Mygla, Icelandic At p. 26 we Muwlen, grow mouldy Skygg, Swedislthe source of Shy Skule, Danish stands for one, Scowl Skal, Danish Stands for the first Skrekka, No atter for the first Skull Scraggy Slæki, Norslop the word was Sluggish Smul, Danito falter, making Smoulder Witnen Vitna, Ice

me ('Reliquiæ An-Many an Old English word has ambe; we still sound these Scandinavian strangers. Me write it womb; iche many words, which Southern Enre written eche (quiswith our Dutch and Low Germ

seems now to have rid herse's to have been used for uste,
g to express hic. A Glouces'it was not thick up as hit.

¹ So in the Latin, jungo is formed, 'it was not thick un as hit

against beginning words with the letter p we were ather later to turn the Scandinavian broddr (aculeus) and prod.

nce, punch	Bonzen	Puff	Poffen
ξo G	Brink	Pick	Picken, to use a
rtude	Kakelen		sharp tool
seied clapper e, cost	Klappe	Pack	Pack
e, cost	Kosten	Scrape	Schrapen
	Korre	Snatch	Snacken
whic	Giggen	Spat, macula	Spat
Relaishe:	Hacke	Squint	Squinte
that vers	Horrelen	Toot	Toeten, blow a
peawe 10 we	Bigge		horn
yeaweer we	Pot	Tattle	Tatelu
found Balop	·		

Yet this mont in this work harlot, a vagabond, from the work to sw tlat, a youth; the word is used by Chaucer lasted in the bad sense; Shakspeare has harlotry blisse (p. 34 cm the same Celtic source come culgel and mished and st seen in English; also baban, our babe. Much before, swallar, is also found for the first time; kinder not 'you'c-sl. There are many words in the Ancren Norther than the wedgwood thinks, are formed from it was ar of sinve it gewgaw, chatter. The adjective in Dorset. Infinite En wifer fellow is found in the Ancren (swallow); Infinitier the me from the old cóf (impiger). In is curious. The let; hrme the let; hrme the let is the added to the transfer of sinve the added to the state of the sentence.

added to the sometimes of ress a poltroon.

hard g is oftend go.' 'B' ress a poltroon.

Stige (hara) becc pith is the location with let! rimgiven as a puzzle in spelling.

The Third version of the Ancren Riwle may have been drawn up in Warwickshire; at any rate, it cannot have been done far to the South of the Great Line. The clokes of Salop become the more Southern cleches (clutches), p. 174. There is a great clipping of Consonants in halpenes and peni (p. 96). The ending er was coming into vogue; the old ærendraca became erinde-bere in Dorset, and erende beorere in the present version; we also find the new word luffer (amator). For talis the Pronoun bullich was used (p. 44); bilke was coming in to express iste, pilke fuzeles is used at p. 14, where the Dorset version has peo ilke fuweles. In p. 68 this leads to a mistake; the Dorset version has iden ilke huse, oder per &c. (in eâdem domo aut ubi), but the present version has in pilke hus per (in istâ domo ubi). This pilke, used instead of Orrmin's pat, soon spread into Gloucestershire, where in 1300 it is found as pulke. At p. 26 we see the first instance of al oder sum, the source of Dryden's forcible all and some; the sum stands for one, 'one and all.' At p. 222 we find our flatter for the first time, the Scandinavian flatra; in Salop the word was not understood, for it is changed into falter, making nonsense; in Dorset it is flaker.

In a Southern Creed of this time ('Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. 282) wambe becomes wumbe; we still sound this u in the old way, though we write it womb; iche here stands for what was elsewhere written eche (quis-

¹ In this shire thulk, or thuck, seems to have been used for iste, while thilk or thick changed its meaning to express hic. A Gloucestershire witness has been heard to say 'it was not thick un as hit thuck un, but thuck un as hit thick un.'

que); we still keep this old sound of the i in pronouncing each.

We have now beheld the changes wrought by 100 years; the most weighty may be seen in the three short words, much ship-owning, for mycel, scip, agen; here the old sounds y, c, sc, a, and g have been all altered.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH .- NEGLECT.

1220-1280.

UP to this time, 1220, English had been fairly well cultivated; it was now to be thrown aside by the enlightened English public, as something altogether inferior to French or Latin. The disastrous period that we are now about to consider is illustrated by very few English writers; things were very different before 1220, and were, moreover, to be very different after 1280. Anyone, who reads with due heed the specimens given in this chapter, will see that the obsolete terms by degrees become fewer in number; in other words, much old Teutonic is being swept away. We begin, as before, with

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1230.)

I first call attention to a poem—The Bestiary.—that is printed in Dr Morris's Old English Miscellany (Early English Text Society). This poem is very nearly the same in its dialect as the Genesis and Exodus (Early English Text Society), a piece which Dr. Morris refers to Suffolk. The common marks of the East Midland

speech are found in both: the Present Participle ends in ande in the one case, in both ande and ende in the other; the Plural of the Present tense ends in en, or is dropped altogether, as have instead of haven; the Prefix to the Past Participle comes most seldom. The Northern Prepositions fra and til are found. The Bestiary bears some resemblance to the Proverbs of Alfred; it is a translation made much about the time that King Henry the Third was beginning to play the part of Rehoboam in England, having got rid of his wise counsellors.¹

Here we find the Old English sinden (sunt) for almost the last time; on the other hand, what Orrmin wrote all ane (solus) has now become olon; we also see ones (formerly enes), the Latin semel. The Southern o had long driven out the old Northern a in these Eastern shires. We find Orrmin's substitution of o for on always recurring here, as o live. But what he calls brace (fregit) is seen in the present poem as broke; our version of the Scriptures has adopted the former, our common speech the latter. We also find ut turned into out; we saw something of the kind in the Proverbs of Alfred. Fugelas is pared down to fules (fowls). The old splot (which meant both macula and locus) here loses its l, though we still talk of a splotch. The Bestiary refers to

bidden bone to Gode, and tus his muð rigten, tilen him so de sowles fode, durg grace off ure drigtin.

¹ Now we have for the first time a new English metre, with the alternate lines riming:—

^{&#}x27;His mu'd is get wel unku'd wi'd pater noster and crede; fare he nor'd, er fare he su'd, leren he sal his nede;

the Panther's spottes; the Genesis and Exodus calls the Red Sea (p. 93) a salte spot. The poet prefers birden. (onus) to byroen. At page 14 of The Bestiary a Verbal Noun is formed from the word for: the Devil doo a foxing (dolus). This formation of Verbal Nouns was soon to become very common in the Dano-Anglian A confusion was now arising between the endings of Adjectives and those of Adverbs; we have long found it awkward to write godlily, formed from godly: the East Anglian writers kept the old Adjective reuli (mæstus), but formed the new Adverb reufulike, p. 21: the ful was rapidly spreading through England. In p. 18 the Adjective mirie (merry) is used as an Adverb; mirie ge singeð. At p. 18 we find on lengðe it sal him reven: the first two words stand for in the end: we see how we came to English tandem by at length. In p. 13 husebond takes a third sense besides those of conjux and paterfamilias; it now means colonus, whence comes our husbandman, which was expressed in the oldest English by bonda. The old teorian (deficere) becomes tirgen at p. 12, where an elephant is said to tire. We find here for the first time borlic (burly) applied to elephants; it is akin to the High German purlih. word cliver (clever) is applied to the Devil. Mr. Wedgwood says it comes from claw; hence it in this passage has the sense of nimble-fingered, much as rapidus comes from rapio. The Adjective fine, the Icelandic finn, is seen here for the first time. The word snute (snout).

¹ Lever, more than three hundred years later, used husband for colonus.

nsed of the elephant, is akin to a German word; as also is hoven (manere), p. 16. The old English ceaft is now found in the shape of chauel (in the account of the whale): it is not far from our jowl. The Second Person Singular of the Perfect of the Strong Verb undergoes the change already marked in the Lindisfarne Gospels. What in Old English was pu hehte, is turned at page 6 into tu higtest (pollicitus es).

In an East Anglian Creed of this time ('Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. 234), we find ure onelic loverd, written where Orrmin would have used the old anlepiz (unicus) for the second word. Thus a new form drove out an older one. However, in the oldest English we find the Adverb ânlîce used for solum.

In the Version of Genesis and Exodus, there is an interchange between a and e; we find both fer and far. hali and heli. Orrmin's mandenhad becomes maidenhed. A replaces æ; slæht and stærf become slaght and starf. The ea turns into ei, for we find eiloul (insula); et (manducavit) becomes at (p. 97). The i is clearly opposed to the Southern u; we meet kiss, unkinde, and pride: the Icelandic systir (soror), here written sister, (p. 109), is preferred to the Southern suster: the Old English had the form sweostor. The i kept its own sound, when coupled with a, in Sinai, for this is made to rime with bi (p. 96); fir (ignis) becomes fier; the ie was here no longer pronounced like the French é, for we meet with both drige and drie (aridus). We find both dis and dese for the Latin Plural hi; we now pronounce the word in the former way, and write it in the latter way. The old yldeste now becomes eldest; and

titt (mamma) becomes tette, our teat. On the other hand. teode (decimus) is seen as tigde; hence our tithe. The poet is fond of doubling his vowels, as in mood and feet. The combination oa appears, but the latter vowel was sounded, for at p. 117 doa is made to rime with Fasaa: much as Esau rimes with ru (p. 44). The o, creeping up from the South, often replaced a; we find almost, froward, hol, wrob, lob, bond, solde, and sori; there is even sowen (viderunt), at p. 88. The goven (dederunt). not gaven, suggests the 'he guv,' so well known to us. The old mænan (queri), still written mene in other shires. became mone in East Anglia; wæron (erant) was written wore, which is still alive in some parts; and ær (ante) makes room for or, p. 47, which is kept in our Bible: or ever &c. But the o had often to give place to u; we see wilde for wolde (voluit), muste for moste, slug for sloh, youg for genoh. Both word and wurd stand for verbum. Nu is once seen as nou, and tun as town. There is a tendency to contract words by throwing out vowels; as hid, filt, set, fed.

This clipping is equally apparent in the Consonants: great havoe is made with the letter f; had comes as well as haved; there is $ha\delta$, and Orrmin's pu hafst now becomes pu as (p. 51); sulde a sen is written for should have seen at p. 78. The word evermore is found as ermore at p. 9, whence comes our poetical contraction e'er for ever. Lord sometimes replaces Orrmin's laferd, and leman stands for leofman. Other letters are thrown out; we find forbi, or, and be we; at p. 71 we see both the old birigeles (sepulchrum) and the new biriele, our bwrial; hagol (grando) becomes hail. On the other hand,

we are struck by the poet's sturdy cleaving to the Old English gutturals q and k at the beginning of words. So, in the Bestiary, we find gevenlike, where the writer has gone out of his way to prefix a g before what was efen in English, iafn in Scandinavian. It is East Anglia that has kept these hard letters alive. But for these shires, whose spelling Caxton happily followed, we should now be writing to vive (donare), to yet (adipisci), auain (iterum), and yate (porta). We have unluckily followed Orrmin's corruption in yield, yelp, yearn, and young. These East Anglians talked of a dyke (fossa), when all Southern England spoke of a ditch. Orrmin's druhhpe is now turned into drugte (drought), which we have followed. The most remarkable change is deigen (mori), instead of deye. There is also the Peterborough gede (ivit), frigt, nigenti, wrogt, and, still more wonderful, preige (p. 114) for præda. But even into Suffolk the Southern w was forcing its way. We find owen (proprius) as well as ogen, and foliven (sequi) as well as folgen. Owing to the changes of letters in different shires, we sometimes have two words where our forefathers had but one, each word with its own shade of meaning. 'To drag a man out' is different from the phrase 'to draw a man out:' the hard North is here opposed to the softer South. Moreover, we may speak of a dray horse. Our Standard English is much the richer from having sprung up in

¹ Our proper name Yeatman (ostiarius) cannot have arisen in East Anglia. It is curious that some people say ingun and bagonet, instead of onion and bayonet, putting in a letter hard to pronounce. Meg Merrilies says, 'Sair I prigged and prayed.'

shires widely apart. As if the foregoing variations of drag were not enough, we have borrowed the kindred trig-ger from Germany.

Some of the other consonants were undergoing change. The feio (fides) found here, represents the Old French feid, which was early lost in France (about the Eleventh Century): fei was the commoner form, especially in the oath par ma fay. The contrary change takes place when cube (potuit) becomes cude, which we unluckily no longer spell aright; the same change takes place in burden and twentide; peof (furtum) turns into defte; both bufd and býft existed in Scandinavia. The Peterborough scæ (illa) now becomes sche or she; cwen is turned into quen. This qu was favoured in East Anglia as much as in Scotland; quow replaces hu, and the former lasted two hundred years, as we see by the Paston Letters. The h at the end of a word is clipped; Orrmin's fe is repeated, our fee; ruh, our rough, is seen as ru at p. 44; this clipping of the final guttural went on all over the South. The c is thrown out, for macod (factus) becomes made. as in Salop; scal turns into sal, as in Scotland; this is just the reverse of the old see turning into scce (she) The former qesamnian (congregare) about 1160. becomes semelen (p. 110); here the kindred French word must have had some influence. The turtre of the Bestiarv is changed into turtul (p. 27) in the present work; the Scandinavian had the two forms turturi and turtildúfa. The r is added to a word; hunter (the Scandinavian hundtér) and tilier (p. 43) replace the old hunta and tilia. The n is clipped at the end of a Participle, as do for don (factum); this is found in the Paston Letters.

This letter is sometimes added, for oft becomes often (p. 109) and almihti becomes almihtin, a change which for a time spread all over the North; the n is inserted, for daigening replaces dagung; it is replaced by m, for seldon becomes seldom (seldom). The t is added, for Swyrian (adversari) is found as Swert (p. 38); the S is The insertion added, for stalu (furtum) becomes staloe. of d after n in the middle of a word is curious; this is done for the sake of ease; ounor becomes ounder, and what was elsewhere written cunrede is here written kindred; alre (omnium) gives place to aldre (p. 10); this form lasted to 1600. On the other hand, d is sometimes dropped; we find gol prenes (golden pins). The connexion between p and t is very plain, when podes is written for toads at p. 85; hence the Scotch puddock. Milk becomes milche at p. 79, the source of our milch cows; wreche and wrake, two forms of the same word, are found in line 552.

As to Substantives: Orrmin's sense of world was coming in; we find at p. 4, middel werld used for the old middan eard. The Latin causa used to be Englished by ping, which lasted down to 1340; but sake is now enlarging its meaning; at p. 106 we find for is sake. We know our common on the spot for protenus; at p. 94, Moses throws a tree into the bitter water, which becomes sweet on de stede. At p. 10, in so manie times, we see a substitute for so often; at p. 88 comes bisch God, dis one side (time); at p. 30 is 'I shall come dis time oder ger;' that is, 'this time in the second year,' 'a year hence.' The Accusative replaces the old Genitive in on ger sep (p. 89) 'a sheep of one year.' The same case

becomes prominent in his name ward a lettre mor (p. 29), which would have been written formerly 'it became more (longer) by a letter.' At p. 73 we see the source of our 'go full speed,' where we drop a preposition; it is said that the Hebrews waxen michil sped. The confusion between Dative and Accusative is very plain in to fechen Ysaac hom a wif (p. 39). At p. 43 we read of rights, be queden ben de firme sumes (which are promised the first-born sons). The English was becoming more and more terse, as we see in this piece. A new Substantive is formed in p. 62; bi gure bering (your carriage) men mai it sen. Another is formed from the word ridan at p. 112, wente he his ride, the Scandinavian reid.

In compounding Adjectives, the ful of the South was employed, as dredful and frigtful, the latter for the first time; the lic, cut down to li, was also in favour, as reuli; in uglike (p. 80), the Scandinavian uggligr, the full English form is kept. The en of the Adjective is clipped, when we read of a gold pot at p. 95. There is a curious instance of the Accusative of the Adjective being kept alive by its constant use in common speech; he bade hem godun dai, 'bade them good day' (p. 41). We laugh at our modern phrase aufully jolly, but something like it may be seen at p. 38; Abraham, when prevented from slaying his son, becomes frigti fagen, 'frightfully fain, joyful.' In p. 25 we see gret folc (multi); here gret replaces mycel; we now talk of 'a great number,' but 'much people' is obsolete.

Among the Pronouns we find δei (illi), which had crept down from the North; it comes but once: ic once or twice gives place to I. The Latin tu is twice Eng-

lished by ge, used in addressing a superior, at pp. 64, 65; Jacob's children refuse to obey him and go to Egypt, but ge (nisi tu) wio us senden Beniamin; they afterwards tell Joseph's steward, gur silver is gu brogt agon. This suggests the French vous, used for the Latin tu; this East Anglian usage (see the Proverbs of Alfred) was the harbinger of a great change in our common speech. What Orrmin called patt an and patt oper is seen here in a new guise.

Two likenesses . . . he Gaf hire de ton.—Page 77.

Dis on wulde don de toder wrong.—Page 78.

At p. 67 comes quat-so-evere; at p. 60 quilke is used, as in the Ancren Riwle, for the Neuter Relative. The al is much employed in strengthening phrases, as al be bettre, p. 66.

The great change in Numerals is that score is used for twenty; it comes from the old habit of shearing or scoring notches on wood up to twenty. The Celts, Danes, and French counted something in this style, which was now first used in English. In p. 91 we read—

'Gon woren VII score ger.'

At p. 97, the Numeral thousand is used as if it were a Noun; ile busent adde a meister wold. A new idiom is in p. 44; an hundred so mikel wex his tile; of old the first four words would have been expressed thus, by hundred fold.

As to Verbs, we find an old idiom revived after a long sleep; 5e folc reste dede (p. 57); here did rest stands for rested; seventy years later this usage of do and did became very common. In the Old English we find

sentences like 'wished him (to) be named;' this use of the Infinitive Passive is now coupled with the Verb bid; at p. 74 Pharaoh's daughter bad it ben brogt. The Past Participle had always been used with an Accusative after Transitive Verbs, like see; this usage now began to embrace Intransitive Verbs; at p. 48 is ougte it him misdon; 'it seemed to him misdone (peccatum'). The Passive Voice was spreading its conquests; at p. 24 comes woren he bredre sworen; 'they were sworn brothers;' at p. 110 comes of desert aren he walkeden ourg; 'they are walked.' We see the old use of like in him misliked out (p. 50); also the new use as in the Proverbs of Alfred, where the Verb changes its construction and becomes Transitive:

Balaac misliked al őis queče, And ledde hem &c.—Page 114.

The Verb beget is seen both in its old sense, adipisci, and in its new sense gignere; this last has driven out the old cennan. At p. 21, we see he bigat a sune. A new Verb, in oat bifel Sarrai, is used for the old gelimpen (accidere). Up to this time, niman had meant capere; it here acquires the further sense of ire, and this is one of the peculiar marks of the East Midland Dialect for the next hundred years; our get has now both of the Latin meanings I have named. The Verb take is used in the same sense at p. 50; Laban toc and wente and folwede on; this sense of take is still alive; it may be further seen in overtake. Orrmin's phrase of taking with a woman is repeated; and at page 63 we hear of taking leave. When we hear that Lot's wife wente in to a ston

(p. 32), it suggests that of the two old meanings of wendan, the Latin ire and mutare, the latter is most present to our minds in the phrase, 'he went into a rage.' The Verb do is much used; we hear that Adam and Eve were don ut of Paradis (ejecti sunt). This must be the phrase that suggested our modern expression for cheating. p. 69 comes it wurd mid him don (actum est de). p. 101 the Israelites deden Aaron in age, 'put in fear.' At p. 109 they deden fin, 'made an end,' or 'died.' But make is beginning to encroach upon this do; the people maden suriuren (sojourn) in de desert (p. 94). At p. 72, we see that the hard East Anglian form wake (vigilare) was to be set apart for one special meaning, while the Southern corruption watch was to be in more common use; Joseph's body was waked after death. Clip is used in Orrmin's Scandinavian sense of tondere, not in the Old English sense of amplecti; the Scandinavian shift (mutare) comes at p. 50.

When we see stinken smoke at p. 34, where the Participle has lost the de at its end, we understand how easily Layamon's corruption of ing for inde must have spread through England, and how easily the Infinitive and the Active Participle were confounded. A new Verb, which we still keep, is seen in p. 41; Isaac was nourning, but Eliezer edde his sorge. This new formation from eade (facilis) may have been confounded with the French aaisier. Long before Chaucer's time it was settled that in this Verb we should use the French s, and not the Old English d. Our uneasiness was formerly written uneadnes.

Among the Adverbs are found quilum (olim), which

had long been known in Yorkshire. This word, coming South, may have had some share in driving the old hwiles (aliquando) away from the South. Another Yorkshire idiom is a stede wor (ubi), instead of the old pær (p. 57). There are also moreover, bi time (betimes). The e, that of old marked off the Adverb from the Adjective, is clipped in page 96; Amalek fagt (fought) hard. But the ending like was still in use, and was even tacked on to a French Adjective, as festelike (hilariter), p. 97. The old nu pa (just now) is altered at p. 45; Esau is told, din broder was her nu. There is a great change in p. 113; Balaam gide qui (le) bute fordi, 'he went but a moment for that purpose.' Here bute stands for nomisi; in the oldest English a ne must have come before the Verb. Orrmin had constantly used the ne compounded with Verbs, as nam, nis, and many such; but our fine old compounds were now waning away throughout East Anglia. In this poem nil and nolde alone are left: we still say, will he, nil he; a weighty link with the Latin volo, nolo.1

In Prepositions, of is further extended; at p. 47 is of dis stede ic sal numen (remember); Dr. Guthrie, in his Life, constantly writes 'I remember of it; 'our more classic remind of is akin to this. Bisiden seems to get the new sense præter, as well as its old sense juxta; at page 104 the Israelites, who had received light from heaven, were consumed with fire; it is said, fier is on tem bisiden ligh. Among or among is now turned into emongus, p. 47. The ofdun, which was now well estab-

¹ It is curious to find English more primitive than Gothic in this natter. Our old nast du (nonne seis) is found in Ulfilas as niu waist (St. John xix. 10),

lished as dun, is used more like a Preposition than an Adverb in he figten dun herbi, p. 101, like our down there.

We find the welve of King Alfred's Proverbs, the dwell of Orrmin, and the Salopian window, here repeated. Readers of 'David Copperfield' will remember that the Suffolk peasantry speak of a house as a beein; this is explained by the Scandinavian bigging, so well known in Scotland. At p. 90 we read that was non biging of al Egypte without a corpse. This word kept its right spelling in East Anglia down to 1440; since then the g in the middle has been softened down. In page 61 Orrmin's verb clapenn (vestire) takes the Past Participle clad; this is the Scandinavian klæddr, the Participle of klæda; we still keep this form, as well as Chaucer's clothed. There are other Scandinavian words found here, such as

Busk, bush
Dream, somnium¹
Glint
Levin, lightening²
Muck
Ransack
Rapen, to hurry, rap out
Rospen, rasp
Skie³

Buskr, Icelandic Draumr, Icelandic Glânta, Swedish Lygne, Norse Mykr, Icelandic Ransaka, Norse Rapa, Norse Raspa, Swedish Sky, cloud, Norse

¹ The Old English *dream* meant only sonus or gaudium, and is so used in the Bestiary.

² This is a curious instance of the interchange between g and f.

³ This as yet only means in English a *cloud*, and this sense of the word lasted till Chaucer's time. *Til skiyia* in Norse means 'ug in the sky.' Twenty years after the present poem's date sky stood for *aer* in Yorkshire.

Spy Tine, lose Ugly

Speja, Icelandic Tína, Norse Ugga, *frighten*, Norse

We find the word *irk* for the first time; it is akin to the German *erken* (fastidire).

Of manna he ben forhirked to eten.—Page 104.

We see, in p. 35, 'hem gan dat water laken' (the water began to fail them). This new word for deesse is akin to the Dutch laecke (defect). In p. 26, we find mention of tol and takel and orf. The second of these Substantives comes from the Welsh taclau, accoutrements. Our word skip comes from the Welsh ysgip (a quick snatch); hence locusts are called skipperes, p. 88.

At p. 88, Pharaoh uses the Interjection, hu! when enraged with Moses; this must have come from the French comment. What Orrmin had called ollfentess (a Teutonic usage of 800 years) now appears as kameles (p. 39); the old ylp was not to hold its ground much longer. The old drake (draco) is written by the side of the new French dragun. A form like Egypcienis shows how the Old English endings of proper names were dying out. In p. 94 the road is said to be pert; this form of the French apert is strangely altered in our day as regards its meaning. We read of Abraham, p. 29, entertaining the angels with flures bred; we now wisely make a difference when spelling flowr and flower. We see the French Verb he sacrede, at p. 27, with its English ending; the Past Participle of this has become so common that we now use it as an Adjective. This poem seems to have been written about 1230, and to

have been transcribed seventy years later; by that time many of the old words had died out; thus wæstm, wasteme (forma) conveyed no meaning to the transcriber, who writes it waspene.

A Norfolk lad is referred to the Lanercost Chronicle for 1244, as bearing the name of Wille (Willy), the short of William; the intermediate form must have been the Willekin, found about 1190.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1230.)

ACCOUNT OF THE FLOOD.1

Do a wex a flod dis werlde wid-hin and ouer-flowged men & deres b kin widuten and hise dre sunen, Sem, Cam, Iaphet, if we rigt munen, and here foure wifes woren hem wid; dise viii hadden in de arche grid. Dat arche was a feteles good, set and limed agen de flood;	a Then b animals c except d consider their peace vessel
öre hundred elne was it long, nailed and sperd,h öig and strong, and lu elne wid, and xxxu hegi; ör buten Noe long swing he dregk; an hundred winter, everic del,l welken orm it was ended wel; of alle der öe on werlde wunen,n and foueles, weren öerinne cumen bi seven and seven, or by two & two,	h closed high hore toil bit m passed ere dwell
Almigtin God him bad it so, and mete quorbi o čei migten liven, čor quiles he p woren on water driven.	o whereby

¹ Genesis and Exodus, p. 16 (Early English Text Society).

Quan he dede' him in de arche-wold. Two dusant ger, sex hundred mo, and sex and fifti ford to do,'s weren of werldes elde numen' taken "Noe was in to de arche cumen. Ilc' wateres springe here strengde undede, and reyne gette' dun on everilk stede fowerti dais and fowerti nigt, so wex water wid magti migt. so wunderlike it wex and get dais and nigtes stod et so; do was ilc fleis and over ilc hil, down and nigtes stod et so; do was ilc fleis and werlde slagen, do gunnen de wateres him wid-dragen. De sevend moned was in cumen, and sevene and xxt dais numen, in Armenie dat arche stod, do was wid-dragen dat ilc flod. Do de tende moned came in, so wurd dragen de waters wind; dunes wexen, de flod wid-drog, It adde lasted long anog. Fowerti dais after dis, arches windoge undon it is, de raven ut-fleg, hu so it gan ben, ne cam he nogt to de arche agen. de duve fond and wente agen and wel it dede; de sevendai eft ut it tog, and brogt a grene olives bog; seve nigt siden everilc on he is let ut flegen, crepen, and gon, widuten ilc sevend clene der de altar	sexe hundred ger Noe was hold q	q old
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and brogt a grene olives bog; k bough seve nigt siðen l everile on l afterwards he is let ut flegen, r crepen, and gon, wiðuten lie sevend elene der n except	and wente agen and wel it dede;	
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he is let ut flegen, recepen, and gon, wiouten ilc sevend clene der		-
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Widten he sevent ciene dei		
de he sacrede on an aucter.º ° altar		-
	de he sacrede on an aucter.º	o aitar

Sex hundred ger and on dan olde Noe sag p ut of de arche-wolde; de first moned and te first dai, he sag erde drie & te water awai; get he was wis and nogt to rad; geder he nogt ut, til God him bad.

p looked

q quick r went

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.

(About A.D. 1230.)

Ar ne kuthe ich sorghe non,
Nu ich mot manen nun mon,
Karful wel sore ich syche;
Geltles ihc tholye muchele schame;
Help God for thin swete name,
Kyng of hevene-riche.

Jesu Crist, sod God, sod man,
Loverd, thu rew upon me,
Of prisun thar ich in am
Bring me ut and makye fre.
Ich and mine feren sume,
God wot ich ne lyghe noct,
For othre habbet misnome,
Ben in thys prison ibroct.

Almicti, that wel licth,
Of bale is hale and bote,
Hevene king, of this woning
Ut us bringe mote.
Foryhef hem, the wykke men,
God, yhef it is thi wille,
For wos gelt we bed ipelt
In thos prisun hille.

Ne hope non to his live, Her ne mai he belive, Heghe thegh he stighe,

Ded him felled to grunde.

Nu had man wele and blisce,

Rathe he shal tharof misse,

Worldes wele mid ywise

Ne lasted buten on stunde.

Maiden, that bare the heven king,
Bisech thin sone, that swete thing,
That he habbe of hus rewsing,
And bring us of this woning
For his muchele misse;
He bring hus ut of this wo,
And hus tache werchen swo,
In those live go wu sit go,
That we moten ey and o
Habben the eche blisce.

The above poem is taken from the Liber de Antiquis Legibus ('Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. 274), in the possession of the Corporation of London; the manuscript has musical notes attached to it. The proportion of obsolete English is much the same as in the Genesis and Exodus. The poem of page 300 seems therefore to represent the London speech of the year 1230, or so. What was g in Suffolk becomes c here, as in the Twelfth Century Homilies; it is broct, not brogt; gelt replaces gilt, as in Kent. The h is sometimes misused, even as Londoners of our day misuse it. The qh sometimes replaces the old h, as we saw in the Essex Homilies: this change was now overspreading the greater part of the Eastern side of England between London and York. The change of p into d in many words is curious. The form habben (habere) is a mark of the South.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1240.)

The piece that comes next, a version of the Athanasian Creed, was most likely written in the Northernmost part of Lincolnshire, perhaps not far from Hull. We see the Northern forms in great abundance; thus whilk is used for the Relative; als, til, sal, pair, &c., come often: the third Person Singular of the Present tense ends in es, not in eth; bes (erit) replaces the old beoo. But the Southern o was making great inroads on the Northern a, as we saw in East Anglia; in this piece we find so, non, no mo, whos, pow (tamen), who so; in short, the whole poem foreshadows Manning's riming Chronicle. The a becomes e, as in the Northern Gospels; heli (sanctus) replaces hali. The g is turned into yh; and many endings are clipped. The Participle geboren is cut down to born. The writer who Englished this Creed has little love for outlandish words; sauf, sengellic, and persones are the only three specimens of French here found: he commonly calls persones by the obsolete name The deep theological terms of the Creed could still be expressed in sound English; though the writer's mikel does not wholly convey the sense of our incomprehensible. We see our bifore-said for the first time. (sed) and with (cum) are preferred to their other English synonyms, as in Orrmin's writings. Unlike that poet, our present author will seldom use ne for the Latin non; he prefers noht, as in the East Anglian pieces: but he once has nil (nolunt). We see the Participle lastend,

which Orrmin would have used. The new beand (the French étant) replaces the old wesende.

This Creed, short though it be, shows us two great changes that were taking root in our spelling; h was being turned, as in Essex, into gh, and u into ou. One or two instances of these changes may be seen in the East Midland poems of 1230; but the alteration is now well marked. We see right, noght, and thurght, instead of the old riht, noht, and thurh. These words must have been pronounced with a strong guttural sound, which may still be heard in the Scotch Lowlands; there right is sounded much like the German recht. Thoh is in this Creed written bof, a sure mark of the North; and this shows us how cough and rough came to be pronounced as they are now. 1 •The letters k and f (or rather p) are akin to each other; the primitive Aryan katrar is the Gothic fidwor (four), and the Lithuanian dwy-lika is our twá-lifa (twelve). With us, Livorno becomes Leghorn; and in Aberdeenshire kwa (the Latin quis) is pronounced fa.

EAST MIDLAND.

(A.D. 1240.)

Who pat pen will berihed a be, So of pe prinnes b leve he, And nede at hele c pat last ai sal Dat pe fleshede d ai with al Of oure louerd Jhu Crist forpi c Dat he trowe it trewli.

a saved

b Trinity c salvation

dincarnation

e therefore

Why should cough be sounded differently from plough? 'I have

f helief Den ever is trauth f right Dat we leve with alle oure miht Dat oure louerd Jhu Crist in blis Godes son and man he his, g begotten God of kinde of fadir kinned g werld biforn, Man of kinde of moder into werld born, Fulli God, fulli man livand h reasonable Of schilful b saule and mannes flesshe beand, Even to the Fadir purght godhede, Lesse ben Fader burght manhede, Dat pof he be God and man, i still Noght two prwæper i is, bot Crist an, On, noht burght wendinge to Godhed in flesshe, k changing Bot burght takynge of manhede in godnesshe, 1 substance On al, noht be menginge of stavelness,1 m person Bot burht onhede of hode m pat is, Dat poled n for our hele, down went til helle. n suffered De bred dai ros fro dede so felle, o went up Upstegh o til heven, sittes on right hand Of God Fadir alle mightand, And whit for to come is he To deme be quik and dede that be, Ate whos come alle men pat are Sal rise with paire bodies pare, And velde sal pai, nil pai ne wil, Of pair awen p dedes il, p own And pat wel haf down pat dai Sal go to lif pat lastes ai, And ivel haf down sal wende

a cow in my box,' said a Frenchman, meaning a cough in his chest. In the short sentence, a dough-faced ploughman, coughing and hiccoughing, went thoughtfully through Loughborough, we find ough sounded in eight different ways. The Scotch still sound rough and the proper name Brough as if the names ended in kh; this was, until lately, the usage in the Yorkshire dales.

In fire lastend withouten ende. Dis is je trauht jat heli q isse, Whilk bot ilkon with miht hisse Trewlic and fastlic trowe he, Saufe ne mai he never be.

q holy r unless

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1240.)

THE OWL AND NIGHTINGALE.-Line 993.

Yut bu aisheist wi ich ne fare In to other londe and singe there. No! what sholde ich among hom do. War never blisse ne com to? That lond nis god, ne hit nis este, Ac wildernisse hit is and weste, Knarres and cludes hoventinge, Snou and hazel hom is genge: That lond is grislich and un-vele. The men both wilde and unisele; Hi nabbeth nother grith ne sibbe; Hi ne reccheth hu hi libbe, Hi eteth fihs an flehs un-sode. Suich wulves hit hadde to-brode; Hi drinketh milc, and wei thar-to, Hi nute elles wat hi do; Hi nabbeth noth win ne bor, Ac libbeth al so wilde dor; Hi goth bi-tizt mid ruze velle, Rigt swich hi comen ut of helle; They eni god man to hom come, (So wiles dude sum from Rome) For hom to lere gode thewes, An for to leten hore unthewes,

¹ Hickes has mangled some of the words in this piece, which I leave as he printed it. It is in his *Thesaurus*, I. 233.

He migte bet sitte stille,
Vor al his wile he sholde spille;
He migte bet teche ane bore
To wege bothe sheld and spere,
Than me that wilde folc i-bringe,
That hi me segge wolde i-here singe.

These lines are taken from a most charming Dorsetshire Poem, which seems to have been no translation from the French. It was published by the Percy Society, No. 39. Most of the forms found in the Ancren Riwle are here repeated. We see from the present work how warmly King Alfred's name had been taken to England's heart. The proverbs attributed to him come again and again, 340 years after his death. In p. 44 we read that 'his worde was goddspel.' We find also other saws, such as

'Dahet habbe that ilke best, That fuleth his owe nest.'1

The Vowel o is encroaching upon its brethren; mowe replaces the old mawe (metere). The former he lyst (amittit) becomes he lost; this form was not as yet transferred from the Present to the Perfect. The u is sometimes used for o; the Past Participle ischud stands in p. 52 for the old gesceo-god; we here get the first hint as to our present way of sounding shoe. The old prise (turdus) now becomes our thrusche.

The most remarkable new effect in Consonants is the paring away of the n in the Past Participle of agon; in p. 18 we read wane thi lust is ago; the corrupt Southern

 $^{^{1}}$ The French imprecation daket shows whence comes our 'dash it!'

form kept by us in long ago. The older form remains in woe-begone; the Participle here comes from begangan (circumdare). In the same way as agon, wfen (vesper) here becomes eve. In another word the f is thrown out, for hælfter becomes halter. The h is prefixed to the Old English ule (bubo); we may still write either howlet or owlet, like Hester and Esther. The n is inserted, for nihtegale becomes niztingale; in 'Middlemarch,' Mr. Dagley is loud in praise of the Rinform (Reform). When we find Alfred written Alvred (p. 9) we see a relic of the spelling of Domesday Book. The old boga (ramus) is written sometimes boze, sometimes bowe. It is easy to see how Layamon turned the Active Participle inde into inge, when we find at p. 30 singinge riming with avinde.

One of the Substantives here used gains a syllable, for morgen becomes morezeiing (morning), just as holh (cavus) becomes holeuh (hollow). The old rode had hitherto meant crux; it is now seen as rodde, meaning virga. The word bonda (colonus) becomes bondeman. We find the Substantive sprenge (trap), which comes from the Verb spring.

As to Adjectives: the old gillig seems to have been preserved by the South and West alone. This poem has many forms, such as, in the derne (dark), into the bare, in the thick, where the Adjective is used like a Substantive, as in Greek.

Among Pronouns, we find thilke, which is used only once (p. 36). One of our modern usages is to insert it is, when we wish to be emphatic. At p. 40 we read—

This is stronger than 'on this account men shun thee.' At p. 4 we see other referred to past time, as we say 'the other day.'—

That other zer a faukun bredde.

The Article an and the Numeral one, both springing from the old an, were as yet anything but distinct; in the 4th line of the poem we read of an hule and one niztingale. At 25 the on (unus) appears without a Substantive and coupled with a Possessive Pronoun; having spoken of arts, the bird says, betere is min on (craft).

In Verbs, we remark the change of meaning in the old mot, most; this Verb, which earlier bore the sense of the Latin licet, now takes the meaning of oportet; this may be plainly seen in p. 45, pu most of londe fleo. Still the Verb mot lasted in its oldest sense down to 1550; it is still, I believe, used in the Freemasons' formula, so mote it be. Must, used in the new sense, has driven out the Old English thearf; and it so entirely got the meaning of oportet, that must us (it behoves us) is used in the Townly Mysteries, about the year 1430. At p. 39 comes the Passive thu art ishote, as if the old sceotan had always governed an Accusative.

We have seen many Adjectives here used as Substantives; this usage is extended to Participles. At p. 50 comes

Wanne ich iseo the tohte ilete.

'The taught (tensus) let out.' At p. 34 solde hi zollen stands for 'if they yelled;' this use of should, in a conditional sentence, is something new. At p. 20 we hear

of a man that ne can nort bute singe; here the Infinitive is used as it were in apposition to the nought, something like Orrmin's idiom. At p. 56 comes thu nevre mon (homini) to gode ne stode; this suggests that our 'stand me a pot' is short for 'stand me to a pot,' 'be worth to me for so much as a pot.' The phrase let be, instead of let alone, is in p. 58. We use the verb bode always in a bad sense; this is seen in the present poem. Break now becomes intransitive, as 'his heart nolde breke,' (p. 37). The verb bihemman is formed from hem (fimbria).

We find the phrase for (far) and wide, (p. 25), as well as the old far and near.

The Prepositions to be remarked are, 'he would not for his life,' (p. 37); 'they are of thy mind,' (p. 52); 'to miss of fairhede;' in this last the of stands for the Genitive that used to follow the Old English polian (carere). Hence fail of, come short of, disappoint of. In p. 27 stands 'though all strength were at one,' that is, 'in one place,' the old onan; from this we have 'to set at one' (whence comes atonement); the at often has the meaning of in. The Preposition behind is used as a Substantive at p. 21.

There are a few Scandinavian words, such as mishap, cukeweald (cuckold), cogge (of a wheel), falt (falter), utlete (outlet), and shrew; the last comes from shraa (sloping); we now apply shrew to women, and screw to horses. The verb beshrew was formed from this in the next Century.

There are many words cropping up, akin to the Dutch and German, like clack, clench, clute (gleba), cremp (contrahere), hacch (parere), luring (torvo vultu),

mesh, isliked (whence our sleek), stump, twinge, wippen; the last in its intransitive sense.

In p. 27, we see the first use of a well-known Adjective:

Mon deth mid strengthe and mid witte; That other thing nis non his fitte.

That is, 'it is no match for man.' This is akin to the Dutch vitten (convenire). There is also cwesse (comprimere), at p. 48, akin to the Dutch quassen, whence comes our squash and squeeze; and at p. 54 we read, al thi sputing schul aswinde; here the Noun, akin to the Dutch spuiten, stands for sermo; the race of spouters is anything but extinct.

Among the few French words in this long poem are pie (picus), gente (still used in Scotland as genty,) at one accorde; stable is found with the French e at the beginning clipped. The word gabbing is used in the French sense of mockery, (p. 22), as in the Ancren Riwle; this old word was English, Scandinavian, and French, each with a different shade of meaning; we still talk of the gift of the gab. Master is for the first time prefixed to proper names; as Maister Nichole; in our surnames we now follow the form Nicoll more than Nicholas.

The Cotton Manuscript (about 1240), in which the last poem is embodied, contains many other pieces, mostly Southern. These are repeated in the Jesus Manuscript, compiled about twenty years later. There are here Northern forms, such as whase, saule, and

¹ These are printed by Dr. Morris, in his Old English Miscellany, (Early English Text Society).

wimmen; also the Southern vayre. The poems may perhaps belong to Oxford, or thereabouts. The a encroaches upon a and ea, as in mass, chapman. The au becomes prominent, as we auhte (debemus); gleow becomes gle (p. 91). The old hu is written how at p. 142. We here find our modern eye and youhpe; the old smyc becomes smyche (p. 75), whence our smutch and smudge. The old gearwa is cut down to gere, our gear, at page 164. Layamon's corrupt Present Participle is spreading over Southern England; in the one page 180 we see both the old berninde and the new berninge (urens).

As to Nouns: the Virgin says, at p. 100, ich am Godes wenche (ancilla); the word was henceforth used only of women, though Orrmin had called Isaac a wmnchell. We light on many new English names at pp. 188-190; such as Janekin (Jenkin), Wadekin (Watkin), Robin, Gilot, besides the old Malekin.

We have seen Past Participles coupled with the Possessive Pronoun, no Substantive following; Adjectives are treated in the same way, after the fashion of the old min gelica; at p. 82 comes myne gode; similarly, at p. 96, amaid is addressed as A swete, 'Ah, sweet.' At p. 86 we get an insight into the true meaning of free; it is there opposed, not to thralls, but to poure; it must have fairly well expressed our gentle in gentleman. To this word we shall return thirty years later. At p. 144 comes the curious word clybbe, which means avidus, to

¹ Wickliffe uses wench, when writing of the daughters of wealthy men, in his translation of the Gospels.

judge by the context; it may be another form of the East Anglian cliver.

Among the Pronouns, we see at p. 85 pilke (illi), which was slowly spreading through the South, and encroaching upon po. At p. 96 eu (vos) is evidently written instead of pe (te); thou and you come sometimes in a speech addressed to a single person; this may be seen in Goldsmith and Knowles. At p. 73 we see suy used as an Impersonal Verb, an imitation of the old is is written; we here light upon hit seyp in pe godspelle. The olon of East Anglia now becomes al one (p. 85). In Old English we should have found better be hundredfeld; this is changed at p. 98 into he is better an hundred folde. What in Essex had been called pat an now becomes pe on, which we still keep (p. 101).

Among the Verbs we remark moste used in the sense of oportet, as we saw in Dorset. The old ute, followed by the Infinitive, is seen for the last time, I think, at p. 141. The Imperative beod is cut down to beo at p. 78. The Infinitive faren is dropped in he schal heonne (hence) at p. 94; at p. 186 is he made him falle. The peculiar idiom with the verb stand, seen before in a Dorset poem, is now carried a step further; at p. 99 comes hit wolde him stonde muchel stel (in great stead).

We see the Adverbs peruppon and parwypal (pp. 78, 97); in the last, withal for the first time Englishes the Latin cum. At p. 139 after is used, not as a Preposition, but for postea.

At p. 82 we see our Verb hwyne (whine), which

¹ See Mätzner's English Grammar, III. 225.

follows the Icelandic veina rather than the Old English wanian. There is the Verb ruskit (p. 92) applied to hounds rushing or racing about; the true old form was ræsan. A new word for tremere comes at p. 176:

For ich schal bernen in fur And chiverin in ise.

We see in p. 76 a Celtic word brought into English, a word which Shakespere was to make immortal. It is said that greedy monks shall be bitauht pe puke (given over to the Fiend). The Welsh pucca and bug mean 'hobgoblin;' hence come our bugbears and bogies.¹ Tyndale, who lived near the Welsh border, uses bug for something that frightens children; bogle is employed in Scotland for a scarecrow.

The French influence in the poem is seen at p. 90, where ten or twelve long lines end in one rime; but the English could never hope to rival the French in this riming system. At p. 98 we see ymstone, a relic of the old gim-stân, that had been written for hundreds of years in England; a few lines further back, we find the new French gemme. The English of the year 600 had been able to couple words of their own with outlandish terms; the English of 1240 saw their own words dying away, and were glad to

¹ Good Bishop Bedell, in a letter to Usher, brands an oppressor named Cooke: 'he is the most cryed out upon. Insomuch as he hath found from the Irish the nickname of Pouc.'—P. 105 of Bedell's Life, printed in 1685. This seems to show that about 1630 our oo had already the sound of the French ou The interchange of c and p is enrious.

replace them by purely foreign terms. The new peple, for instance, was used as well as folk; be peple me tolde is in p. 92. In p. 122 be biwilen, which is in the Cotton Manuscript, is replaced by do pe gyle in the Jesus Manuscript. When we see quiten (pay for) her ale, at p. 190, we have the source of our 'we are quits,' that is, 'we have paid each other.'

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About 1250.)

I now give the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and Belief, from a manuscript written in the middle of the Thirteenth Century, and printed in the 'Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. 22. This must have been used in the Northern part of Mercia, perhaps not far from Orrmin's abode; for the a is not replaced by o, as in East Anglia. We also find such Northern forms as til, fra, als, alwaldand. But we have here the great Midland shibboleth, the Present Plural of the Verb ending in en; this is sometimes altogether dropped. The Third Person Singular of the present now ends in s, which is most unlike the Genesis and Exodus. The Preposition for is used in a new way; it might always stand in a sentence like 'for God's sake;' it is now prefixed to the French merci. Omnis is translated by hevirilk; this, to the North of the Humber, would have been ilk an. Sal is used for shall. Are is used for the Latin sunt. The Past Participle has no prefix. The letter h is sometimes set at the beginning of words most uncouthly. Acennede (genitus) is replaced by begotten. Heli stands for the old

halig, as in the Athanasian Creed given at p. 138. The French lele (fidus) appears, which is Northern. On the other hand, we find ham (illos), not pam. We light upon the full forms mankind and kingdom for the first time; the latter was earlier written kinedom. Nottingham would be as likely a town as any for the following rimes. We may imagine the great Bishop Robert hearing his Mercian flock repeat these same lines, while he turns aside for a short time from his wrangles with the Roman Court, and from the studies that made the name of Lincolniensis known throughout Christendom.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1250.)

[I b]idde huve with milde stevene prayer raise voice til ure fader þe king of hevene,

in be mununge of Cristis pine,

for pe laverd of pis hus, and al lele hine, faithful hinds

for alle cristinfolk that is in gode lif, that God schilde ham to dai fro sinne and fro siche; for alle tho men that are in sinne bunden, those

that Jhesu Crist ham leyse, for is hali wndes; loose wounds

for quike and for deade and al mankinde; and pat we here God don in hevene mot par it finde; may place in heaven and for alle pat on herpe us fedin and fostre;

earth

saie we nu alle pe hali pater noster.

Ure fadir pat hart in hevene, halged be pi name with giftis sevene, samin cume pi kingdom, likewise pi wille in herpe als in hevene be done, ure bred pat lastes ai gyve it hus pis hilke dai, same

and ure misdedis pu forgyve hus, als we forgyve pam pat misdon hus, and leod us intol na fandinge, temptation

bot frels us fra alle ivele pinge. Amen.

Heil Marie, ful of grace, pe lavird with pe in hevirilk place, every blisced be pu mang alle wimmein, and blisced be pe blosme of pi wambe. Amen.

Maidin and moder pat bar pe hevene king, wer us fro wre wyper-wines at ure hending; defend cnemies ending blisced be pappis pat Godis sone sauk, sucked

pat bargh ure kinde pat pe nedre bysuak,

protected race serpent tricked.

Moder of milte and maidin Mari, mercy

help us at ure hending, for pi merci.
pat suete Jhesu pat born was of pe,
pu give us in his godhed him to se.
Jhesu for pi moder love and for pin hali wndis,
pu leise us of pe sinnes pat we are inne bunde.

'Hi true in God, fader hal-michttende, pat makede heven and herdepe, and in Jhesu Krist, is anelepi sone, hure laverd, pat was bigotin of pe hali gast, and born of the mainden Marie, pinid under Punce Pilate, festened to the rode, ded and dulvun, licht in til helle, pe pride dai up ras fra dede to live, stegh intil hevenne, sitis on is fadir richt hand, fadir alwaldand, he pen sal cume to deme pe quike an pe dede. Hy troue hy peli gast, and hely kirke, pe samninge of halghes, forgifnes of sinnes, uprisigen of fleyes, and life with-hutin hend. Amen.' 1

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND. (A.D. 1250.)

PSALM VIII.

Laverd, oure Laverd, hou selkouth is Name pine in alle land pis.
For upe-hoven es pi mykelhede
Over hevens pat ere brade;
Of mouth of childer and soukand
Made pou lof in ilka land,
For pi faes; pat pou for-do
Je fai, pe wreker him unto.
For I sal se pine hevenes hegh,
And werkes of pine fingres slegh;²

² Sly (sapiens) has here a most exalted sense; it has been sadly degraded. 'Nasty sly girl!' says one of Mr. Trollope's matrons speaking of her son's enchantress.

¹ We find the old genitive still uncorrupted, as hevene king, fadir hand. We still say hell fire, Lady day. It is most strange that such words as fanding, stegh, and samninge should ever have dropped out of our speech, since they must have been in the mouths of all Englishmen that knew the simplest truths of religion.

he mone and sternes mani ma, bat pou grounded to be swa. What is man, bat bou mines of him? Or son of man, for bou sekes him? Bou liteled him a litel wight Lesse fra pine aungeles bright; With blisse and mensk bou crouned him yet, And over werkes of bi hend him set. bou under-laide all pinges Under his fete pat ought forth-bringes, Neete and schepe bathe for to welde, In-over and beestes of be felde, Fogheles of heven and fissches of se, Dat forth-gone stikes of be se. Laverd, our Laverd, hou selkouth is Name bine in alle land bis.

The above Psalm is a specimen of the Northumbrian Psalter (Surtees Society), a translation which, from its large proportion of obsolete words must have been compiled about 1250, though it has come down to us only in a transcript made sixty years later. This is the earliest well-marked long specimen of the Northern Dialect, spoken at York, Durham, and Edinburgh alike; it was now making its way to Ayr and Aberdeen, and driving out the old Celtic dialects before it. This was the speech that long held its own in the Palaces and Law-courts of Scotland, the speech which was embodied in Acts of Parliament down to Queen Anne's time, and which has been handled by world-renowned Makers: may it never die out! It will be found that our classic English owes much to Yorkshire; some of its forms did not make their way to London until 1520. How different would our

speech have been, if York had replaced London as our capital!

This Psalter, most likely compiled in Southern Yorkshire.1 is nearly akin in its spelling to the Lincolnshire Creed in p. 303. We of course find the Active Participle in and, the old Scandinavian form; sal is used for shall; thai, thair, thaim occur, something like the forms in the Ormulum. We see the correct bou mines, where we now should say bou mindest; a twofold corruption. The Third Person Singular of the Present ends in s, as gives, does, has; we follow this Northern usage in week-day life, but on Sunday we have recourse in church to the old Southern forms, giveth, doeth, &c. A remarkable Scandinavian form, already found in the Rushworth Gospels, is seen in Vol. I. p. 301; pou is (tu es); pou has, which is also found, is not yet grown into thou hast. ending of the Imperative Plural is sometimes clipped, though not often; as understande for intelligite; this we saw in the Lindisfarne Gospels. The Northern form of the Present Plural in es appears, as hates, (oderunt); and Shakespere sometimes follows this form.

As to Vowels: the a replaces e and a, as far, handy, brake, spake; it replaces o, as sware for the rightful swore, and this wrong form has been forced into our Bible by Tyndale. The ai replaces a, as fai (hostis),

¹ The Midland Present Plural ending in en is sometimes found, as wirken (laborant); I have already remarked on an instance of this in the Rushworth Gospels. Ninety years later, Higden said that this Yorkshire speech was so harsh and rough that it could be hardly understood in the South.

for the older fa; and this sound remains in Scotland; ogaines stands for contrà, but the first letter is clipped in compounds; qaine-sagh is written where a Southerner would have put ayensawe. This gainsay is the only Verb compounded with gain that we have left. The said of the Psalter has in the end beaten the Southern seid; there is also slaine. The e stands in meres (jumenta), which we still pronounce aright; the e is often doubled, as in feet, neet, beest. The old pencan (putare) is carefully kept in the South, that there may be no confusion with pinked (videtur); but in the North the former is seen as think, Vol. I. p. 3. The o encroaches upon a, for forgat becomes forgot; swo and po are found for swa and pa. There is much confusion between o and u: we see the old luve and the new love (amare); what was once gebundne his (vinctos suos) now becomes his bonden, Vol. I. p. 221; new words were soon to be formed from this Participle. The old duru (ostium) becomes doer in the North, Vol. II. p. 153; the earlier form lives in the proper name Durward. The words written arwe and sorwe lose their last letter, and are sounded like aru and soru; the u was later to be replaced by o.

The old Consonants were roughly handled in the North. The k is thrown out altogether in takes, taken, which become tas and tane; the latter lives in our poetry. The old cneowun is cut down to newe, Vol. I. p. 33. The g sometimes becomes w; the English word for arcus is written both bough and bowe; geat (porta) becomes yhate, the Scotch yett; here the North followed the South, and was perhaps glad to make a distinction between this word and the Danish get (iter). Hea

(fanum) becomes hai. The g is thrown out altogether in morgen, which becomes our morning (Vol. I. p. 157);1 the Scandinavians wrote mornan as well as morginn. We also find bie for bycgan (emere), slaer, and slaine. The old h is replaced by gh; we see heghest, sight, neghbur, sagh. The guttural sound in the middle of these words lingered in the Yorkshire dales long after the year 1800, and may still be heard in the Scotch Lowlands. We see not written for noht. The f is sometimes thrown out, for super principes is Englished by our princes (Vol. II. p. 43); hence the poetical o'er. The d is sometimes inserted, as in wrecchedness and wickedness: it is replaced by t, as in left and reft, where the Vowels also have been mauled. The t is added to a word, as when $h\hat{a}s$ (rancus) becomes haust; hence the Scotch hoast. The Scandinavian form was hósti. We of the South a hundred years later put an r into the old Adjective and called it hourse. On the other hand, we now too often drop the r in horse, and call it hoss. The haast may have been formed from the old Verb hwostan (cough). The t replaces the old p, for heapo becomes healt, our height. The old lengan has a p inserted; elongavi is translated I lengthed, Vol. I. p. 173. The p sometimes slides into s; what in 850 was adeastrade sind (obscurati sunt), is now seen as er sestrede, Vol. I. p. 241. What used to be inlihton (inluxerunt) is now lightned, with a strange n. The old purh (per) has its

¹ Morgen of old meant both \hat{c} ras and mane; the latter meaning is expressed by the change of consonants seen here; the former meaning is expressed by the Southern w or u, replacing the old g. The old word becomes two-pronged.

letters transposed and becomes thrugh. The y is sometimes prefixed; for yerthe (terra), the Scandinavian jarða, is in p. 3; hence the Scotch talk of yill and yerl, 'ale and earl.'

A process, largely spread in the North, seemed to be replacing the number of old Substantives that England was fast losing at this time. We are struck by the number of newly-coined Verbal Nouns; captio is Englished by pe takeing, Vol. I. p. 105; there is also fulfilling, fleing; but far stranger are the number of Plurals, such as gainges (gressus), not the old gong, Vol. I. p. 115; pair levinges (quæ superfuerunt), Vol. I. p. 41; and many others. Romance words undergo this process; fabulationes becomes fablinges, at Vol. II. p. 91.1 Other new Plurals are formed; iniquitates had once been Englished by unrehtwisnisse, this now becomes wickednesses, Vol. I. p. 75. The Yorkshire bard adds ness to old words, as ivelnes, halowingnes; even to this day, when we coin a new Substantive, it is ness that we mostly employ for the ending, as pigheadedness and longwindedness. Sometimes he turns an Adjective into a Substantive, for olera herbarum (Vol. I. p. 111), is translated wortes of grenes; hence our name for certain vegetables. Bona is goddes, our goods. Such phrases as name of might, man of mercy, bred of sorw, folk of Israel, become common; this turn of speech we owe to translaters from the Latin. Our noun understanding, appearing in 1250 for the first time, comes straight from intellectus.

[.] 1 The verbal noun governessing is a curious instance of this tendency.

as we here see; though we always had the verb. The phrase nan me knew a dele is used in Vol. II. p. 155; the last two words stand for aught, and hence comes 'a good deal,' 'a bit,' &c. There are the new Substantives foundling and handmayden; the last is formed like the old wood-honey; English delights in compounding two Nouns. The Scandinavian word kitling is first seen.\footnoten The old wolcen had meant both firmamentum and nubes; the second of these meanings is here taken from the word, and laid upon a wholly new word, kloude; it means that vapours are drawn up into clods or masses, the Dutch clote.\footnoten In Vol. I. p. 43, we read in pe kloudes of pe skewe, 'in nubibus aeris.' Sky has therefore at last got its modern meaning; this shifting of the senses of words is most curious.

In Adjectives, we see the ending ful growing apace; it is found not only in gladful, wonderful, blitheful, but in the foreign fruiteful and mercyful. We see adolescentior Englished by yonge-like in Vol. II. p. 101. Orrmin had used the Superlative immresst; we now first find the other forms overest, netherest, utterest; this last is the Scandinavian utarst. An Adjective is used without a Substantive in Vol. II. p. 177; pair worthi translates nobiles eorum. Molestus is Englished by a new word, hackande (Vol. I. p. 105); hence, perhaps, our 'hacking cough.' Fresh takes the new meaning of recens in Vol. I.

¹ This word is still alive in the North. Burke, who was often a guest in Yorkshire, says, in his great speech before losing the Bristol election, that he will never throw the people any creature to torment, 'no, not so much as a kitling.'

² I have taken this from Wedgwood, and much besides.

p. 273. What was slider in the South was sliper in the North; and we have followed the latter form for lubricus. The Definite Article was dropped before an Adjective, as in our 'handsome is that handsome does;' in Vol. I. p. 23, peccator is Englished by sinful, no longer by se synfulla.

As to Pronouns: the old mildsa min becomes haf mercy of me, Vol. I. p. 71. We find ye wrongly used as the Dative, I sall telle al yhe (Vol. I. p. 205). In his self translates in semel ipso, Vol. I. p. 109; while ipsi inciderunt becomes felle pam self, Vol. I. p. 181, where the Dative is used as a Nominative. We see an effort made after a new idiom in Vol. I. p. 265; non erat qui sepeliret is there turned into was it nane pat walde biri. But this it could never drive out the old there. A wholly new form of Pronouns is found in this Psalter. We have seen that Orrmin, first of all our writers, used pat, the old Neuter article, to translate ille; and its Plural pa, to translate illi. This bâ is still to be found in Scotland (Scott talks of thae loons): it held its ground in Southern England as be down to 1530. The old Dative of this, pâm, is still in use among our lower orders; as, 'look at them lads.' But in Yorkshire, about 1250, pas, our those, a confusion with the old Plural of pes (hic), began to be used for $pd.^1$ Vol. I. p. 243: 'Superbia corum qui te oderunt,' is translated pride of has hat he hates; and many such instances could be given. The writer has elsewhere pese, as in the Essex Homilies, to translate the Latin hi.

¹ Hampole, ninety years later, has the same corruption, $\flat as$ for $\flat \hat{a}.$

In this Psalter we see the beginning of the corruptions embodied in the phrase those who speak; a phrase which often with us replaces the rightful they that speak, the Old English på pe.¹

There are new Relative forms, which took a long time to find their way to the South; as nane es whilke saufe mas; yhe whilk standes (qui statis), fest, God, pat whilke pou wroght. Orrmin had forms something like these Yorkshire phrases; the Relative Nominative who was not commonly used in the South until the Reformation; we do not find in our Bible he who or he which; in our every-day talk we almost always make the old that our Relative. We now see the new forms whatkins, nakin, a sure mark of the North; the everilk of Peterborough now becomes everilkane; capita multa (Vol. II. p. 53) is Englished by hevedes of mani-ane.

Among the Numerals is found four-skore.

In Verbs: we see the Danish mon employed in Orrmin's sense of futurity; not to translate oportet, as has been the usage of the North since 1440. The Strong Verbs delve, cleave, swepe, and wepe take Weak Perfects, a process which unluckily has always been going on in England; helped replaces the true holpen, which lingers in our Prayer-book. On the other hand, there is some-

Addison, in his Humble Petition of 'Who' and 'Which,' makes these Relatives complain of the Jack Sprat That, their supplanter. He is wrong: That is the true Old English Relative, representing be; the others are Thirteenth Century upstarts. It is curious that Yorkshire had far more influence than Kent upon the language of the capital in 1520. If we wish to be correct, we should translate 'qui amant' by they that love: those who love can date no higher than 1250.

times an attempt to turn a Weak Perfect into a Strong one; as pou herd, where the older version has the right bu geherdes. We see the Participial idiom bou made dome herd in Vol. I. p. 247. The Participle is employed like an Adjective at Vol. II. p. 161, ten-strenged sautre (psalterium decem cordarum). The Active Participle had always been used absolutely, as him speaking; this usage is now extended to the Passive; at Vol. II. p. 131, we hear that God smote the firstborn of Egypt; noght ane left pare. This sentence, standing by itself, can hardly be anything else than the Passive Participle absolute. In the English of 1000, heom gesprecenum stands for the Active Participle absolute. Orrmin's change from the Active to the Passive Infinitive is seen in Vol. II. p. 75; mandasti mandata tua custodiri is Englished by bou bade pine bodes to be whemed; in the version made four hundred years earlier the custodiri was translated by the Active haldan. The constant confusion between the Participle and other English forms is seen in Vol. II. p. 99; tempus faciendi becomes time of makande. A Substantive could be turned into a Verb, as Shakespere often does; qui dominatur is translated by pat laverdes; the like happens to a Comparative Adjective, I betred (prævalui); and to a Preposition, for we find to under (subdere), like Dr. Johnson's I downed him. In Vol. I. p. 267 a new meaning is given to spill; what of old was blod is agoten (effusus) now becomes blode es spilte. One of the puzzles in our language is, how ever could the Old English geotan be supplanted by the Celtic pour; this took place about 1500. The former word survives in the Lincoln gouts.

gowts, or canals, and in the Gut, well known to Oxford oarsmen. The old meaning of spill (perdere) is kept in our corrupt word spoil. Sceawian had changed its meaning in 1160 from videre to monstrare; it now further became apparere, at least in the North; in Vol. I. p. 41 we find apparebo translated I sal schewe. Lady Nairne, in a letter to her brother, about 1790, talks of his showing away in London. We see the sense of shunt given for the first time to scunian. Expulsi sunt (Vol. I. p. 291) is translated ere out-schouned; the word, with a t at the end, had already been used in Salop, with a different shade of meaning. In Vol. II. p. 33, in translating quassatio cessavit, the Verb lefte is employed; we should say left off. We find both I mined of (memor fui), and also I sal myne pare names (memor ero nominum), Vol. I. p. 37. In Vol. I. p. 107, think becomes transitive; swikedomes ware pai thinkand. The old Weak Verb bisencte (demersit) is turned into the Strong sanke, Vol. I. p. 215, a corruption still kept by us. This confusion of two Verbs has appeared already. Tui inimici becomes pine ille-willand, Vol. I. p. 59, something like 'the Queen's traitors.'

Many new Adverbial forms appear, such as for evermare, fra fer (a longè) al at ones, in mides of, downrighte, yhates of ai (portæ æternales). The old swe swe (sicut) now becomes als it ware, Vol. II. p. 109. The old swipe gives way to mikel in Vol. I. p. 13; lytel nu get (pusillum adhue) becomes yit a littel, Vol. I. p. 113. When we say that a man turns up, we imply that he has been missed and reappears; in Vol. I. p. 15 regredere is Englished by torne upe. It is curious to mark the various compounds of wil employed at different times to translate voluntarié. This about the year 850 was wilsumlice; about 1250 it was willi; in a rather later copy of the Psalter it was wilfulli; we should now say willingly. A new phrase crops up to translate forsitan; this is thurgh hap (Vol. II. p. 115); it is the forerunner of our mongrel perhaps.

As to Prepositions: we have already seen intil at p. 233 of my work; we now first light upon until, which translates ad, (Vol. I. p. 79); also usque in, (Vol. I. p. 189); until that is in page 315. Unto is seen for the first time in England; multis is Englished by unto mani, Vol. I. p. 225. The Gothic has und halba (St. Mark vi. 23), where Tyndale has unto the halfe. In Vol. II. 113, ad pacem is translated by at pais; of old, on would have been used.

We see that the bard of 1250 was not so good a Latin scholar as the former poet of 850; euge is now translated, not by the earlier well pe, but by wa, (Vol. I. p. 107).

There are many Scandinavian words now found for the first time; as,

Brunstan (brimstone), from the Icelandic brennistein. Dreg, from the Icelandic dregg (sediment). Gnaist (gnash), from the Norse gnista. Kitling, from the Norse ketlingr. Lurke, from the Norse lurke. Molbery, from the Swedish mulbaer. Slaghter, from the Norse slagtr.

¹ The Old English for this was mar-beam.

Scalp, from the Norse skal (shell). Sculke, from the Danish skulke. Snub, from the Norse snubba (cut short). Hauk, from the Icelandic haukr.

It is from this last, not from the Old English heafoc, that our word for accipiter comes; in the same way we have preferred the Scandinavian slatr (cædes) to the Old English slæge. A glance at Stratmann's Dictionary will show that the South held to the Old English forms long after the Scandinavian forms, now used by us, had appeared in the North. In our verb whiten, found in this Psalter, we follow the Icelandic hvitna, not the Old English hwitian. The Plural of hand (manus) in this Psalter is hend, following the Scandinavian form hendr. The Old English word for stultus used to be dysiq; this last is found with a new meaning in a Northern writer ninety years later, and in the Present Psalter insipiens is translated by fule (Vol. I. p. 169), pronounced as we pronounce the word now. This may come from the Icelandic fol, though the French fol is seen in the Ancren Riwle. What Orrmin called lefften (elevare) now gets our sound lift, the Icelandic lypta, Vol. I. p. 195. The Icelandic tîtt (celeriter) appears here as tite; it is peculiar to Northern England, and stamps Gower, one of those who used it, as a Northern man.

We see snere, akin to the Dutch snarren, to grumble; stuble (stipula), related to the Dutch stoppel. In Vol. II. p. 53 conquassare is translated in three different manuscripts by squat, squacche, swacche (our squash), all akin to the Dutch quassen. The Adjective smert answers to acerbus, as before; it takes also a new meaning, for in

I. 211 prosperum iter is Englished by smart wai: this is the source of the Adjective we apply to dress. We see yles for insulæ; the Psalter being a most Teutonic work, let us hope that our isle is not derived from the French, but that it is akin to the High German isila. more modern text of Layamon, eit-londe is turned into ilond. Scald (urere) is in Vol. II. pp. 111, 115; the poet sometimes translates the Noun torrens by scalding! The Noun chimbes is used where cymbalan had been used 400 years earlier, Vol. II. p. 179, and they are said to ring. Mr. Wedgwood affirms that the word is Finnish, and that it is an imitation of a clear sound. Scott employs the phrase, 'God sain them!' and the Verb is used in Germany; in Vol. I. p. 195, benedicere is Englished by saine; the old segnian was preserved in the North alone, as was the case with many other old words. In Vol. I. p. 79, lacus is Englished by flosche; fluse in Danish is 'to flow with violence.'

The poet sticks as closely as he can to the Latin he is translating. Thus mansuetus is always hand-tame, legislator is lagh-berer. Sometimes the Latin word is imitated, as where benignitas is Englished by betternes, Vol. I. p. 167; malitia is turned into malloc, insuper becomes in-over, I. p. 37; the Scandinavian inn yfir has the meaning of over. Two of Layamon's new words reappear; noke and the Celtic Verb cut.

There is the Latin oli, and also the French form oyle; thus o and the newer ou must both have been sounded by Yorkshire mouths in 1250; the old ele-treow was now replaced by olive, tor by tour. There is the old wine-yherde and the new vinyhe for vinea; lioun replaces leon.

Fantom comes pretty often, and straite (straiten) Englishes constringere (Vol. I. p. 94). When captivitas is translated wrecchednesse (Vol. I. p. 211), we see that the word caitiff had already begun to take root in our land. In p. 315 finxit improperly becomes feinuhes (feigns). Cry was becoming very common; clamare is turned by make crie, II. p. 103. The old yl (porcupine) made way for the French irchon at II. p. 17. The obsolete French feres (decet) so often found in Scotch law papers, is to be seen in Vol. I. p. 95. A few other French words appear, such as fruitefull, richesses; the last being the usual translation of divitice, and thus the Plural form of our word is accounted for. The older pais is sometimes turned into peas (pax). The word ire is used to translate the Latin ira; our kindred word irre, written by Alfred, cannot have died out at this time: the Poet would think the Latin form more dignified than the Old English. So after all we may hope that our ire is from a Teutonic, and not from a Latin source. The word majestas (I. p. 233), is Englished by an ingenious compound, mastehede. It is curious that some old French words, such as mavis and leal, linger in the North, after having been dropped by the South.

About the year 1260 Layamon's old poem was turned into the English of the day; many Teutonic words of 1205 are dropped, being no longer understood; and some new French words are found. We may guess at the place where the new version was drawn up: it could not have been far from the Great Sundering Line, as both Northern and Southern forms are mingled; urnen (currere), mochel, soch, woch, ech one, the old Genitive

Plural Scottene (Scotorum), the Past Participle ago, and the new pilk, point to the South; while alse (sicut), are (sunt), paie (illi), kinesman, comes (venit), and The transcriber's bigge (emere) point to the North. home may perhaps be fixed in the Northern corner of Hertfordshire; the forms zier (annus) and sipe (navis) show that he belongs to the neighbourhood of Essex; he uses sal for our shall. The East Midland forms are seen to be encroaching on the South, and to be establishing themselves near London; we have in this Version a foreshadowing of Sir John Mandeville a hundred years later. There is a change in the Vowels: Layamon had turned the old Perfect sat (sedit) into set; the transcriber has sat, our form. O is always replacing Layamon's a, as in poh, shon (micavit), rope, ohnede (possidebat); o replaces u in wont, love, sholder, wonder, worp, morn (lugere), worse; we see womman, the source of the first syllable of our form which stands for both the Dorsetshire Singular wumman, and the Northamptonshire Plural wimmen. The French ou is much used, as The bemen (tubæ) of the First Text is bou for bu. turned into bumes; we keep this sound in our boom.

As to Consonants: the h is misused; it is wrongly prefixed in ham and hich, and wrongly docked in alf. Dage is softened into daiye, and the old guttural brohte (tulit) becomes brofte and brohte; four hundred years later, Bunyan, who came from the same neighbourhood, pronounced daughter as dafter, making it rime with after. An s is added to henne, for hennes (hence) is found. An l is inserted, as loverdling, our lordling. A tis added, for we light on agenest (contra) and bitwivite.

The former was repeated a hundred years later by Mandeville, a native of Hertfordshire.

There are some new forms, such as ich bid nobing of his; the three last words, a double Genitive, replace nanne mažmes, Vol. I. p. 136. The new Relative is coming in; where the First Text has moni wif he, the Second Text has many wimmen bi woche, I. p. 113. The Plural of the Old Article was written pa by Orrmin and peo by Layamon; it now becomes our paie pat (illi qui). In they that say, they is Old English; in they say, they is Scandinavian; both they and pai are found in this Second Text of Layamon. The ever is added to where in indirect questions; they wondered ware evere . . . soch heved were ikenned, III. p. 37; this is not in the First Text. There is the phrase, for ene and for evere, II, p. 435; hence our 'once for all.'

There are some new constructions of Prepositions: sippe (since) had never hitherto been employed before Nouns; but we see in I. p. 177 suppe peilke time; in the First Text wes followed the suppe; the Scandinavians employed sizt as a Preposition. He nom ræd æt his monnen was in the First Text, I. p. 70; this use of at was beginning to go out, at least in the South; and of is now substituted for it. There is also in his dazes for the former an his dæies, I. p. 259.

The Icelandic sveipa with its Weak Perfect sveipta is now confused with the Old English swapan, which had the Strong Perfect sweep (swoop). Beefs to him swapte, III. p. 65; it is no longer swipte, as in the First Text. Our word leg (crus) is now seen for the first

time; it comes from the Scandinavian leggr, a stem; this soon encroached on the Old English shank. Cloke (chlamys), which is found here, is a Celtic word. The French tumbe (tumulus), the sound of which we still keep, replaces the tunne of the First Text, I. p. 259. The French Verb use comes in the phrase hii usede pat craft, II. 598.

We owe a great deal to the men who, between 1240 and 1440, drew up the many manuscript collections of English poems that still exist, taken from various sources by each compiler. The writer who copied many lays into what is now called The Jesus Manuscript, ranged over at least one hundred and forty years. In one piece of his, professing to give a list of the English Bishopricks, there is no mention of Ely; hence the original must have been set down soon after the year 1100. In another piece in the same collection, mention is made of Saint Edmund, the Archbishop; this fixes the date of the poem as not much earlier than the year 1250. Most of these pieces, printed in 'An Old English Miscellany' (Early English Text Society), seem to me to have been compiled at various dates between 1220 and 1260; for the proportion of obsolete English in them varies much. I have already glanced at the older pieces; see p. 310 of this book. The Southern element is well marked, when we find ago and vulede (secutus est); there is the botte (fustis) used by Layamon and in the Ancren Riwle, not the batte of the Hertfordshire transcriber of Layamon. On the other hand, wymmon, not wumman, is employed. Two very old forms are now seen for almost the last time; erne morewe (p. 45), and syndon sunt, (p. 145).

comes in a transcript of a prose piece drawn up soon after the year 1100, and was very likely not understood. The transcriber had been used to see au employed to express the broad a in French words; this he now transfers to Old English, writing Engelaunde and Grauntebrugge, as well as Maudeleyne; our French wav of pronouncing Magdalen College is well known; our pronunciation of baume (balm) and aunt is a relic of this time. We find at p. 155 the proper name Hug', not Hugo. At p. 145, we see how the names of our English shires and towns had been pared down by 1260; there are Kanterbury and Cumberlond; the English Dunholm was still preferred to the French Duresme, which we have followed since 1300. But Scrobscir was written Slobschire, whence comes our Salop; a curious instance of the interchange between r and l. There is much paring of letters in common words; foroward becomes forward, p. 42; on two is turned into a to, p. 50. An s is added to beside, as in Layamon; and bisides is used as an Adverb in p. 149. Hond and long rime with each other in p. 51. In p. 43, more bold is used for the true English bolder, to suit the rime. As in the second copy of Layamon, bilke appears; and hwat evere Englishes quodcunque (p. 52); the swa that should have come in the middle of the word is dropped. We find hulf taking the Numeral one before it; on half hundred (p. 146). It is easy to see how an Adverb becomes changed into a Preposition, from the phrase blod orn adun of hym (p. 42); all that is wanted is to drop the of. In p. 45 we see siker used as an Adverb; certè. There are phrases like on after on (p. 40); make (two) to one

(p. 145); neyh hire heorte (p. 55). The Latin vix had been hitherto Englished by uneape; but another phrase is seen in p. 42: nedde he bute iseyd; this is the parent of the Yorkshire nobbut.

We find at p. 57 the English to (in Latin dis) set before the French Verb partir; to-party ut of lyve. This paved the way for depart (sunder); the sense which lingered on in England until about 1660, when the old form in our Marriage Service, 'till death us depart,' was altered into 'till death us do part.'

We must glance at the famous English Proclamation of Henry the Third in 1259; no English deed had issued from the Court, so far as is known, for about a hundred years before this time.1 The language used is such as never was spoken; it is that of some French clerk basing his English upon old-fashioned deeds; thus he has met with the ancient agen (debent), and therefore thinks that ogen will be understood in Huntingdonshire; he uses the obsolete diphthong a, as in dal (pars); his loande (terra) is a compromise between Northern and Southern English. The proper name James, not the old Jame, now appears; and also Perres (Piers, Petrus). The Verb agan (debere) now governs an Accusative; be treowhe bæt heo us ogen; hence our, 'owe much to.' This seems to be a French idiom, and marks the compiler's nationality. I may here observe that no word in the English tongue has a more curious history than the

¹ I take the Proclamation from Stubbs, Documents on English History, p. 387.

old agan (owe). It is the first English word that we can clearly see changing its meaning, as I have shown in p. 110 of this book. It now in 1259 again changes its construction by taking an Accusative (just as the old sceal did); and this is the work of a foreigner. One more. in 1455 it stands out as being the first word, I think, that paved the way for the disastrous confusion between the Verbal Noun and the Active Participle; in Fastolf's claims against the Crown (Gairdner's 'Paston Letters,' I. 364), we read, that money ys owyng to the knight aforesaid. Here the in or on is dropped that should have come before the Verbal Noun, and the owyng therefore seems, most deceptively, to be a Participle. We do not now use the rightful 'a storm is a (in) brewing,' but say 'a storm is brewing;' hence we naturally come to think that brew is an Intransitive Verb. Lord Macaulay, as we read in his Life, insisted on saying, 'the tea is a making'; I only wish that he had put this fine old idiom into his 'History.' The newfangled tea is being made, or any such-like construction, was not in vogue until about 1770. The owing did not stop here, but gave birth to a new English version of the Latin Preposition ob; owing to; this last is a rather late comer. Such are the various meanings and constructions that may be linked to one

¹ Hood, about 1840, writes anent Miss Kilmansegge: 'she is now screwing in' (being buried). See Dilke's *Papers of a Critic*, p. 56.

² His biographer prints a-making, which is like printing 'bona in-transitu.' Mr. Earle (English Philology, 486) calls attention to the idiom used by all classes in Yorkshire: 'I want the tea making.' I suspect that this stands for, 'I want the tea to be in making.'

Verb, within the space of about 850 years; we have here a fine example of the freedom of the English tongue.

For the Southern English of 1260 we must have recourse to the Harleian Manuscript drawn up in Herefordshire about 1315, which takes in the works of the foregoing fifty years and more. We may guess at their date, by reckoning the obsolete Teutonic and the French contained in each piece.1 The Proverbs of Hending, (Kemble, 'Anglo-Saxon Dialogues,' Ælfric Society, Part III., 270), and some of Wright's Specimens of Lyric Poetry (Percy Society), seem to belong to 1260. The Vowel a replaces e, as mar for merren; this is later found in Salop. The Northern fule (stultus) is found as well as the Southern fol; the old cymlic is seen as comely (Lyric Poems, p. 39); ue replaces eo, as hue and buen for heo (illa) and been (sunt). Consonants are cast out of the middle of a word, for helste, levedy, become hest, ledy, the last word being pronounced as it is now; gebroht is pared down to broht; the d is clipped, as bende (bent) for the old bended; on the other hand, the d appears at the end of wicked, as in Yorkshire; likes sometimes stands for like. The old dayes-exes had not as yet been cut down to daisies.

As to Substantives: Orrmin's go his gate is repeated. A drunkard, when pledging his friends, is said to do uch mon ryht (Hending, p. 279); this phrase was used long afterwards by Master Silence in his cups. The terseness of our English comes out in a proverb like

¹ The proportion of these in the Thirteenth Century may be found in the Table at the end of my Seventh Chapter.

lyht chep, lupere zeldes (Hending, p. 277); here there is no Verb at all; this answers to our high interest, had security.

Among other Adjectives, the poet is fond of lylie-whyt, applied to a lady; this kind of compound comes down from the earliest times. Shakespere's turn of phrase, you were best go, is foreshadowed in Hending's advice (p. 279), betere were a rich mon for te spouse. At p. 30 of the Lyric Poetry comes burde on of the best; we should now put the Substantive, not first, but last.

Among Verbs, we remark must used in the Dorsetshire sense of oportet; the do in do lystne me reminds us of the Ancren Riwle. The Old English idiom in fair to see is now further extended; in Hending, p. 277, we read shulde non be me ylyche to be god; that is, 'in being good.' The French à had most likely some influence here. There is a new idiom of the Past Participle, coming perhaps from the Latin; betere is appel yzeve pen y-ete (p. 273); it is odd that the last Participle stands without any Noun. Spillan (spoil) had hitherto been Transitive; at p. 271, it becomes Neuter. We see for the first time our form bistail (bestead): so hit wes bistail (constitutum), Lyric Poems, p. 41. Orrmin had used the Verb undertake in the sense of reprehendere; it now first gets the meaning of suscipere, p. 41.

In Adverbs: Layamon's godliche (pulchrè) is now pared down to godly (p. 38); and this is found afterwards in Salop; we shall soon see other examples of the confusion thus created between the Adjective and the Adverb. The Adverb fayre gets a new meaning in Hending's Poems, p. 278; we there read, abyde fayre

and stille; something like Cowper's fair and softly; here there is a change of meaning from pulcher to tranquillus.

The of had followed cystig (prodigus) in Orrmin; it here follows fre, when that Adjective keeps its early meaning potens; a man makep him fre of my god, Hending, p. 277, 'master of my goods;' we now say 'makes free with' &c. At p. 29 of the Lyric Poems, we see Orrmin's contraction of gelang to long; my lyf is long on the. At p. 42, away is used as an Interjection, like the French avaunt.

The foreign Verb servir now gets the sense of tracture, that is now so common with us; he put me ene servep so, Hending, p. 276.

In the same Herefordshire manuscript is the famous ballad on the Battle of Lewes, in 1264.1 It may have been the work of some Londoner, for we see that most unusual word swyvyng, which is not repeated, I think, until Chaucer wrote. We here find the word bost (our boast), which is Celtic. We have already seen the word shrew; this now becomes shreward, applied to the King's son; the ard here is a short-lived attempt at an imitation of the French endings, such as cou-ard. Sire is prefixed to a proper name, as Sir Edward. There is one great change; French forms have always been found convenient to lighten the load thrown on our English Prepositions; and this has gone on for the last six hundred years; for had many meanings, and one of these is now laid upon the French maugre, for we find maugre Wyndesore.

¹ Political Songs (Camden Society), p. 69.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1270.)

The following specimen must have been written much about the time that King Henry the Third ended his worthless life, if we may judge by internal evidence. It was transcribed by a Herefordshire man about forty years later. Of the sixty Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs contained in it, one alone, pray, is French; and of the other fiftynine, only three or four have dropped out of our speech. In the Poems of 1280 we shall find a larger proportion of French than in this elegant lay, which may be set down to 1270. The writer seems to have dwelt at Huntingdon, or somewhere near, that town being almost equidistant from London and the three other places mentioned in the fifth stanza. The prefix to the Past Participle is not wholly dropped; and this is perhaps a token that the lay was written not far to the South of the Great Sundering Line. The Third Person Singular of the Present Tense ends is es, and not in the Southern eth. The Plural of the same Tense ends in the Midland en. We find ourselves speedily drawing near the time when English verse was written such as might readily be understood six hundred years after it was composed.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(A.D. 1270.)

When the nyhtegale singes, the wodes waxen grene, Lef ant gras ant blosme springs in Averyl, y wene, Ant love is to myn herte gon with one a spere so kene is Nyht ant day my blod hit drynkes, myn herte deth me tene.

ь harm

Ich have loved al this zer, that y may love na more, Ich have siked moni syk, elemmon, for thin ore; d Me nis love never the ner, ant that me reweth sore, Suete lemmon, thench on me, ich have loved the zore. e

d mercy

e long

Suete lemmon, y preye the of love one speche, Whil y lyve in world so wyde other nulle y f seche; With thy love, my suete leof, mi blis thou mihtes eche, f

f I will not g increase

A suete cos of thy mouth mihte be my leche.

Suete lemmon, y preze the of a love bene; h
Yef thou me lovest, ase men says, lemmon, as y wene,
Ant zef hit thi wille be, thou loke that hit be sene,
So muchel y thenke upon the, that al y waxe grene.

h boon

Bituene Lyncolne and Lyndeseye, Northamptoun ant Lounde,

Ne wot y non so fayr a may as y go fore y-bounde; Suete lemmon, y preze the thou lovie me a stounde, while Y wole mone my song on wham that hit ys on k y- k along of long.

I have already mentioned the Proverbs of Hending; from this I give some of the homely bywords of the time when Englishmen were drawing their swords upon each other at Lewes and Evesham.

God biginning make) god endyng. Wyt ant wysdom is god warysoun.

¹ Percy Society, vol. IV. p. 92. This is a transcript made by a Herefordshire man, who must have altered and into ant, nill into nulle, kis into cos, &c.

Betere is eyesor pen al blynd. Wel fypt pat wel flyp. Sottes bolt is sone shote. Tel pou never by fo pat by fot akep. Betere is appel y-zeve pen y-ete. Gredy is be godles. When be coppe is follest, benne ber hire feyrest. Under boske (bush) shal men weder abide. When he bale is hest, henne is he bote nest. remedy nighest highestBrend child fur dredep. Fer from ege, fer from herte. Of unboht hude men kervel brod bong. Dere is boht pe hony pat is licked of pe porne. Ofte rap reweb. haste

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.

Ever out come evel sponne web. Hope of long lyf gylep mony god wyf.

(About A.D. 1270.)

A vox gon out of the wode go,
Afingret so, that him wes wo;
He nes nevere in none wise
Afingret erour half so swithe.
He ne hoeld nouther wey ne strete,
For him wes loth men to mete.
Him were levere meten one hen,
Then half an oundred wimmen.
He strok swithe over al,
So that he of-sei ane wal.
Withinne the walle wes on hous,
The wox wes thider swithe wous,
For he thohute his hounger aquenche,
Other mid mete, other mid drunche.

Abouten he biheld wel zerne, The eroust bigon the vox to erne.¹

This, evidently a translation from a French tale, is preserved in the Digby Manuscript, compiled rather later, about 1290. The Southern dialect is well marked in the forms thilke, ago, erne (currere), dest (facis), sugge (dico), the Accusative thene, and the Genitive Plural widewene, which at once reminds us of the kindred Latin viduarum, root, ending, and all. On the other hand, the Northern I have is encroaching on the Southern ich habbe, for both alike are found; and the form srift, not shrift, suggests that the piece was compiled not far from Essex; perhaps, like Layamon's Second Text, in Hertfordshire.

At p. 65 we find issist thou (vides), pronounced as we sound the word now. The o is encroaching on the old a; at p. 59 we see both anne flok and on kok in one couplet; shame becomes shome. The o is also encroaching on the u; wulf is turned into wolf, though we still keep the right old sound; we find, I was woned (solebam) at p. 61. As to Consonants, the guttural sound at the end of a word was evidently dying out about this time, all through the South of England; we find lou (risit), inou (satis), and dou for the Old English dah, our dough. Layamon's broute (tulit) is here repeated; the h should have come in the middle. The d is cast out, for godsib becomes gossip, p. 61. The f is cast out, for we see the old hofthurst at p. 67, and the new athurst at p. 60; the latter form lingers in our Bible.

¹ Hazlitt's Early Popular Poetry, vol. I. p. 58.

Among the Pronouns, we remark the Accusative ou (vos) used for the Nominative ge, a curious instance of the bad grammar that was flooding England; togedere ou ley (jacebatis), p. 65. The Indefinite hit is used very freely now; hit com to the time, that &c. (p. 66); the hit also refers to a past sentence; 'I have bled the hens, and the, chauntecler, hit wolde don goed (p. 59).

We see half prefixed to Adverbs; afingret half so swith (p. 58).

In Verbs: we see the progress of changes that were at work all over England; such a form as might have been had been very rare hitherto, but was now freely used. The old Imperative had been flee thou; this was changed into thou fle (p. 59); we still say, 'you go there.' The French was influencing our Verbs; the fox in his trouble says (p. 61), nou of me i-don hit hiis, (actum est de me). Again, repetition by A. of B.'s previous words was something quite new in English. 'Sei wat I shal do,' says the wolf. 'Do? quod the vox,' &c. (p. 65). In the next page comes the wolf's question, 'Weder wolt thou?' 'Weder ich wille? the vox sede.' At p. 59 we learn that five hens make a flock.

As to Prepositions: for in the sense of as might follow the Verb hold in the oldest English; this usage is now extended to know; the vox hine i-kneu wel for his kun (kinsman). This for is now, in one of its senses, elbowed out by mid (with); since we find—

Wat mid serewe, and mid drede, Al his thurst him over-hede.¹

¹ Only the other day, I heard a man say, 'I cannot see, with (ob) the smoke.'

This with is now always tacked on to our partitive use of what: 'what with one thing, what with another,' &c.

The poem we have just gone through is unmistakeably a translation from the French. The old French names of the animals, renowned in fable, are brought into England: the cock is Sire Chauntecler; the wolf is Sigrim (Isegrim); the fox is Reneuard. first hear in English of the freren or friars. Some say that the French ending in es had great influence in making England adopt es for the Plural ending of all her Nouns; so far is this from the truth, that in the present piece the poet goes out of his way to alter the French freres into freren, the old Plural form to which Southern England steadily clung. The French oath i faie (i'faith), which is hardly extinct even now, may be seen at p. 64. Every second line in the poem rimes with the line before it, until we come to the end; then three lines end in the same rime; a favourite usage of Dryden's is here foreshadowed.

In the Harleian Manuscript (Percy Society), mentioned at p.338 of my book, there are Herefordshire poems which seem to belong to 1270. They cannot have been compiled far to the South of the Great Line, for we see the Northern forms are, gray, he ledes, he gos, made (factum), also the Midland we ham. The poet was used to express the broad French a in the usual way, as romaunz; indeed his baum is still pronounced much as he wrote it, though we spell it balm. The au might stand

¹ In trying to determine the age of these poems, I look most to the proportion of French words in an Alliterative piece; here the poet always strives to be as Teutonic as he can.

for either the broad a or the French ou; this we know, by seeing the French reaume or royaume appear in later English pieces, sometimes as reame, sometimes as reame. He employs the au for English words, writing fauning (p. 23), which is different from the vawenunge of the Ancren Riwle; unitowen becomes untoun (p. 32). The old erest (primum) is cut down to erst; and swan (cygnus) is written swon, which comes near our pronunciation of the word. Seole becomes sylli (silk). There is much clipping of Consonants; Ich haf becomes y ha (p. 31); hæfed (caput) becomes hed (p. 34); and there is also forhed. Liht loses the guttural in the middle, and is written lyt, riming with wyt (p. 31). The old Participle gewætod is in p. 30 pared down to wet. A form peculiar to the poet is lossum, standing for lovesome (amabilis); it comes often.

There are some new forms in Adjectives. At p. 97 comes the well-known feyr ant fre, here applied to the Virgin; this is repeated in the Tristrem of nearly the same date, and it has been kept alive to our day. At p. 84 a sinful man is said to be more than unwis; at p. 24 wyves wille is called ded wo; hence comes our 'a dead loss.' There is one remarkable change of idiom; in 1260, a girl talks of women, and says that her lover will soon vachen an newe (capere novam). But a few years later, in a piece written about 1270, as I suppose, women are mentioned, and we then hear of the fayrest on; here the one is added, to avoid the repetition of the Substantive that has gone before.

¹ I refer to the fourth line of *Billy Taylor*: 'To a maiden fair and free.' *Free* here means *liberalis*, (ladylike) Burgoyne, in 1779, talked about 'the honour of an officer and the liberality of a gentleman.' See his *Life*, by Fonblanque, p. 227.

Coming to Verbs, we find take hede, and hit doth me god (p. 83). At p. 28 we read, betere is tholien then mournen; we cannot help suspecting that this Infinitive gave rise to 'better is tholing than mourning;' the corruption of form took place a few years later. Again, at p. 50, the question is asked, whet ys the beste bote? Bote heryen him; this Infinitive heryen (laudare) looks very like the parent of some of our seeming Verbal Nouns. At p. 35, a girdle, as it is said, 'triketh to the to;' hence comes trickle, a puzzling word as to its derivation.

The al prefixed is very common in these poems; at p. 23 we find for the first time al thah (quamvis); it took about ninety years to make its way to London.

We see the Danish brag, at p. 24, here used as an Adjective. At p. 32, croune is employed in a new sense, standing for a clerk's shaven head; in the Tristrem, rather later, the word stands for the top of any man's head. Lele (faithful) appears here; it seems later to have been wholly confined to the North of England. There is the woman's name Alysoun at p. 28.

The sixty years comprised in this Chapter are the unhappiest period in the whole of the English language, if we search through all the fourteen hundred years that separate the Beowulf from the Sigurd. Few indeed are the poems of this particular period, from 1220 to 1280, if we contrast them with the work done in the first twenty years of the Century, and also with the achievements of its last twenty years! As to prose, there is none at all, always excepting King Henry's Proclamation.

CHAPTER V.

MIDDLE ENGLISH-REPARATION.

(1280-1300.)

WE had now, by 1280, tided over the worst; henceforward, England was never again to throw aside her own tongue; our ruined walls were to be repaired; we were to light our old candle, now burning very dimly, at the blazing French torch. The heedful reader will remark, in the English specimens that follow, an ever-increasing number of French words, wherewith the lost Teutonic was being replaced. We turn once more to

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1280.)

King Edward was now fastening his yoke upon Wales. The first Mercian poem of this time that I shall notice is the piece called The Harrowing of Hell, the earliest specimen of anything like an English dramatic work. It may have been written at Northampton or Bedford. The text has been settled (why did no Englishman take it in hand, and go the right way to work?) by Dr. Mall of Breslau. With true German

insight into philology, he has compared three different English transcripts: a Hertfordshire (?) one, of 1290; a Herefordshire one, of 1315; and a Northern one, of 1330. Again we see the Midland tokens; the Present Plural in en, the almost invariable disuse of the prefix to the Past Participle, the substitution of noht for ne. have I for habbe ich; there are unto and renne (currere). he nam him, like the later he gat him. The author wrote kin and man, not the Southern kun and mon, since the words are made to rime with him and Abraham. The old a is sometimes, but not always, replaced by o; the poet's rimes prove him to have written strong, not strang; he had both ygan and ygon, riming respectively with Sathan and martirdom. The Plural form honden, found in all the three manuscripts, and the absence of are (sunt), point to the Southern border of the Danelagh; at the same time, the Northern wip (cum) has driven out the Southern mid. Thei (illi) sometimes replaces hi; both Ich and I are found. There is a thoroughly Northern form; he areu (pitied) hem. The Midland form brist (sitis) has been altered by all the three transcribers; the two Southern ones use purst. something like our sound of the word: Dr. Mall, by the help of the rime, has here restored the true reading. Ch has replaced c, for michel, not mikel, is found in the Northern manuscript. The dialogue is most curious: Satan swears, par ma fei, like the soundest of Christians: and our Lord uses a metaphor taken from a game of hazard. The comic business, as in the Antigone of Sophocles, falls to a warder. The oath God wot, elsewhere Goddot, comes once more; and also the Danish

word gate (via), which never made its way into the South, except in the form algates.1

The fondness for new Verbal Nouns was coming down from the North; for at p. 31 we find pi coming instead of the rightful cume (adventus), which long lingered. The old terseness in the idiom of Pronouns is seen at p. 27; Christ talks of other people's property, and then says that Adam wes boht wip min; here no Noun is coupled with the Pronoun. The old well nigh is now supplanted by almost, p. 27; the Scotch still use the true old mæst (fere). As to Verbs: the Dorsetshire meaning of oportet, as applied to moste, was creeping up from the South; alle mosten to helle te, p. 21; here the Verb is in the past tense. The old Past Participle iwiten is changed; for at p. 23 we find ich have wist (known). A sad corruption, seen in the Alfred Proverbs, is now repeated; it is one of the few things that has escaped Dr. Mall's eye. The Second Person of the Perfect of the Strong Verb is brought down to the level of the Weak Verb. At p. 27 we see how miltest pou

 1 I give a specimen from page 33 of Dr. Mall's work. Abraham speaks :—

Louerd, Crist, ich it am,
pat þou calledest Abraham;
pou me seidest, þat of me
Shulde a god child boren be,
pat ous shulde bringe of pine,
Me and wip me alle mine.
pou art þe child, bou art þe man,
pat wes boren of Abraham;
Do nou þat þou bihete me,
Bring me to hevene up wiþ þe.

The New English, as we see, is all but formed.

(potes); here Orrmin would have used maht or miht for the Verb; indeed the Northern transcriber fifty years later has altered it into may. In line 77, we see in the transcript of 1290,

Sunne ne foundest pou never non.

In line 189, the transcriber of 1315 writes— Do nou pat pou byhihtest me.

It was many years before this corruption could take root; it is seldom found in Wickliffe, who tries to avoid translating *dedisti* by either the old *gave* or the new *gavest*, and commonly writes *didest give*.

At page 32, we find a line thus written in the transcript of 1290, 'we pi comaundement forleten;' in the transcript of 1315, this is 'we pin heste *dude* forleten.' If this latter represent the original of 1280 best, it is an early instance of a revived Auxiliary Verb, of which I shall give instances in the next Chapter.

Much ink was not long ago spent upon Byron's expression, 'there let him lay' (jaceat). The bard might have appealed to the transcript of 1315:

Sathanas, y bynde þe, her shalt þou *lay* O þat come domesdai.—Page 30.

At p. 27 we read, of oper mannes ping make marchandise; the French faire had most likely an influence here, and the idiom was now becoming common.

The Herefordshire manuscript of this piece translates donec by the Saxon o pat, where the other two manuscripts have the Anglian and Danish til. The Herefordshire

forms hap, losen, and buyp (emit), all smack of the West country; as also followed (baptizavit), p. 35, a fine Old English Verb that had now died out of the South East, though it was well known in Gloucestershire down to 1520.1

Perhaps we may set down to this time the English Charters of Bury St. Edmund's in the form that they have come down to us. They fill many pages of Kemble's great work, from IV. p. 223 onwards; one of them, as we learn by a note in the margin, was read before the Barons of the Exchequer. I think that the date of transcription cannot be earlier than 1260, for we see the old hande (manus) written haunde, in the French way, VI. p. 199; and this comes twice. But there is also the form squilk (talis), VI. p. 11: nothing like this is to be found elsewhere until the Cursor Mundi, about 1290. We know from Domesday Book that the old stow (locus) was pronounced like the French stou; we now see a further change of form, for in VI. p. 12 is the form staus (loca); another proof that the au must sometimes have had the sound of the French ou. The Consonants of the old Charters transcribed have been much altered: we find Suffolk, Norfolk, halpeni, purgh, lewed, schal, sal, everi, his owen, govel, holy, so, I, no man, oni, richte, lent. The town, which had sprung up around the great Abbev. is here called Eadmundes biri. We see the East Anglian change of p into d, as in 1230; the form livid (vivit) is

¹ Tyndale, who knew nothing about what in his day was called Saxon, makes a stupendous mistake about the West-country priest's popular title folewer or volower, deriving it from the Latin volo, which came into the Baptismal service!

in VI. p. 12. The guttural is being dropped, for douter comes as well as douchter; u is turned into the French form ou, as Cnout, bour. The h is wrongly prefixed; ic han (concedo) appears. The East Anglian g is in full use; as get (adhuc), ginger (junior). Some of the words transcribed could have been barely understood in 1280, such as sinden (sunt), ic auchte (habui), wefod (altare).

But the greatest Midland work of 1280 is the Lav of Havelok, edited by Mr. Skeat for the Early English Text Society. This is one of the many poems translated from the French about this particular time, when King Edward the First was welding his French-speaking nobles and his English veomen into one redoubtable body, ready for any undertaking either at home or abroad. The poem, which belongs to the Mercian Danelagh, has come down to us in the hand of a Southern writer, transcribed within a few years of its compilation. This renowned Lincolnshire tale was most likely given to the world not far from that part of England where Orrmin had written eighty years earlier; the Havelok is certainly of near kin to another Lincolnshire poem, compiled in 1303. Mr. Garnett, in p. 75 of his 'Essays,' has suggested Derbyshire or Leicestershire as the birth-place of the author: Dr. Morris is in favour of a more Southern shire. We find the common East Midland marks: the Present Plural ending in en; the Past Participle oftenest without a prefix; are for the Latin sunt; niman for the Latin ire; and the oath Goddot, which is said to be of Danish birth. But there is also a dash of the Northern

¹ It is spelt *Ioduth* (an interjection) in the old Danish rime-chronicle. See the Notes on the *Havelok*, p. 122.

dialect; the Second and Third Persons Singular of the Present tense, and the Second Person Plural of the Imperative, alike end in es now and then; a fashion that lingers in Scotland to this day. The Danish Active Participle in ande is also found, and Danish phrases like thusgate, hethen, gar, leyke, until, yate (via), til, Yerk (Eboracum). Orrmin's munnde has now led to moun or mone, which is almost the Scotch maun, as in line 340:

'I wene that we deve (die) mone.'

The poem was compiled to the East of Orrmin's shire, for his zho (the old heo) is now seen as she and sho; his they and their are sometimes met with, but have been often altered by the Southern transcriber into hi and hir. The Southern thilk (ille) is not found once in the whole poem. We now for the last time see the Old English Dual (this we must have brought from the Oxus) in the line 1882:

'Gripeth eper unker a god tre.'

Grip each of you two a good tree.

This had of old been written incer. Strange tricks are played with the letter h. The letter d is dropped after liquids, for we find here shel, hel, bihel; and the Danes to this day have the same pronunciation. But such words as ile, swilk, miliel, hwilgate, prove that our modern corruptions of these words had not as yet made their way far to the North of the Great Line; the Havelok shows us our Standard English almost formed, but something is still wanting.

There are Northern forms, which could never have been used in the South in Edwardian days; such as sternes, intil, tinte, coupe, loupe, carle. The Plurals of Substantives end in es, not en; and to this there are hardly any exceptions. The Northern wip has driven out the Southern mid.

There appear again many forms which we saw fifty years earlier in that other East Midland work, the Genesis and Exodus of East Anglia. Such are, sister, or, clad, fled, fee, they did rest, he bad be brought, they were but a mile off, leren (discere), goven, sule ye, were (erant), at nede, aren (sunt), feyth. Understand of (recipere de) appears, as in the poem dictated by St. Thomas to the East Anglian priest. often replaces the rightful hw, as quanne for hwanne; the alderbest of East Anglia is now altherbest. Southern transcriber, who went to work perhaps ten years after his original was compiled, has taken great liberties. He is fond of clipping the Northern guttural h; for he writes pou (quamvis), plow, aute (habuit), though he sometimes leaves this word as he found it, auchte. He often writes nouth for the old noht, and most likely dropped the guttural h in pronouncing, for he has I woth for I wot. He has michel, il (ile) del; we see the true form als (sicut) in p. 16, but this is sometimes wrongly changed into also, as in p. 10. He writes wrobberes (latrones), p. 2, which shows that the w had at that time no sound before the r, at least in the South. He makes little difference between w and u; he has the old blawe (flare), which, however, is altered into blou at p. 18; owen (proprius) is written oune at p. 68; lawe (humilis) is changed into lowe, and sawe (vidit) into sowe.

As to Vowels: the ea becomes a; for bearh (texit) becomes barv; the same vowel change is in the Ormulum and the Genesis. The verb for monstrare is written shauve, riming with knawe, at p. 62; it is also written sheve, riming with knewe, at p. 43; spelling was as yet in a most unsettled state. *Eorl* now becomes erl. and seol (phoca) is seen as sele. Orrmin's lefftenn (levare), a Danish word peculiar to the North, is now written lift. The old greep (sulcus) becomes grip, a word still in use. The o is in great request; the old âre (remus) becomes ore; eac (etiam) is sometimes written ok. We may trace the Westward march, up from East Anglia, of the o replacing the older a: swa has become so, and is made to rime with Domino; on the other hand, wa (dolor) still rimes with stru, our straw. The o also replaces u; as we see in p. 81, where the old treowian (credere) is written tro, just as we pronounce it; we see poru written for purh in p. 85; hence comes our thorough. They shoten replaces the old Perfect scuton. The w is often written for u; we hear of Rokesburw (p. 5); and hw (quomodo). The old form bu and the new form bou both appear, the Latin and the Greek forms of marking one and the same sound; our fouhten (pugnaverunt) now replaces Layamon's fulten. The multe (potnit) of the Ancren Riwle here becomes moute and mouthe; Tennyson's 'Northern Farmer' says, 'it mowt 'a bean so.' The old acofrian (recuperare) is pared down to covere at p. 57; it is here intransitive.

On turning to the Consonants, we see b inserted, for the old samening (conventus) of the Genesis must have become semeling and then sembling (p. 31). F is replaced by v, for cnafa becomes knave. The h is cast out in the middle of a word, for Iohan is written Ion (p. 6). The g is cast out as usual; there are such forms as eyne (oculi), still kept by our poets; also penies (p. 36). The g is replaced by w, for we see the proper name Huwe; there is also drawen (tractus) and awe (terrere). The old galga becomes galwe-tre at p. 2; and further on, at p. 21, we hear of the galues, our gallows. At Leicester, Gallow Tree Gate is found as the name of a street to this day. The s is inserted, for the old curio is now seen as quiste, our bequest. The sevende of the Genesis is now written sevenhe (septimus); it is the Old English seofopa with the Scandinavian ninserted. We find, by a note of Mr. Skeat's at the end of p. 74, that instead of the first letter of ye, our yea, there is found a character that might stand for either p, for p (the Old English w), or for y. The like confusion may be remarked in other manuscripts compiled about 1290; we see at once why some still write $\bar{y^e}$ for the.1 We find two lines in p. 55 which explain why the Irish to this day sound the r so strongly:

'And he haves on poru his arum (arm), perof is ful mikel harum (harm).'

¹ The Caxton Exhibition of July, 1877, has here enabled me to add a note. Caxton, in printing, well distinguishes the \$\phi\$ from the y. The Bibles of Tyndale and Coverdale, in 1536, make very little difference between these characters; still, there is a difference, if the books are closely examined; the \$\phi\$ is still employed in writing the and that. In Grafton's Bible of 1540, there is no difference at all made between \$\phi\$ and \$y\$.

So the Irish sound Tyndale's boren (natus) in the true old way. The Scotch warald (world) is another relic of these sounds.

We see the Old English word for a well-known bird, in line 1241:

'Ne be hende, ne be drake.'

The former substantive, akin to the Latin anas, anatis, was still to last two hundred years, before it was supplanted by the word duck. As to drake, this Poem first shows us that the word had lost its old form end-rake, that is, anat-rex. There is hardly a word in English that has been so mauled; one letter, d, alone remains now to show the old root, and this letter is prefixed to a word akin to the rajah of Hindostan.

The poet is fond of coupling Nouns together, even when one of them is French; we find luve-drurye, grithsergeuns, serf-borw, romanz-reding; the noun is sometimes qualified by another noun of value, as a ferling wastel (p. 27). The love for new Verbal Nouns was coming down from the North; even French words were submitted to this process; at p. 58 we see with ioynge (cum gaudio). The Accusative of Time is seen again; it is said that something happens pis tid nithes (p. 58), where we should say 'this time of night.' We find the Genitive employed, without the usual noun following, where property is meant; his clopes aren he kokes (the cook's), p. 35. At p. 48, Havelok is sent unto be greyves (the grieve's house). The Genitive of the Substantive is now replacing the Adjective, when material is meant; at p. 78, we hear of gode feteres al of stel; and at p. 38 comes a blase of fir. Still, at p. 43, a man is called a develes lime (membrum). Folk now means not only populus, but comitatus; the retinue of a great lord is called his folk at p. 46. An Adjective is turned into a Substantive, when a criminal is said to be led outside the town unto a grene, p. 80. Men are said not to care a straw or a sloe for a thing. The old fealg (rastrum) now gives birth to a new Noun falwes, our fallows. The tan (digiti pedis) of the South now become tos; the sound is well kept in our toes.

On turning to the Adjectives, we see the new Southern form with most encroaching on the old Superlative, as mest meke, p. 29. Loth had hitherto meant only molestus; it now, no longer governing a Dative, gets the further sense of invitus; we hear that an oath is taken of the barons, lef und loth, p. 9. We see the word cwic halfway between its old sense of vivus and its later sense of citus; certain men are called quike, p. 41, meaning active. The word sarig gets another meaning besides its old sense of tristis; a bad man is called pat sori fend, p. 62. A new exhaustive definition of the conditions of men is coming in; all men are summoned, peu and fre, p. 62; in the Tristrem of the same date. this becomes bond and fre. This word fre has another side, which we see at p. 82; we there hear of a lady. that she is fayr and she is fre. The word sælig kept its old meaning of felix down to 1440 in Norfolk; but it here means infelix; a child, when about to be murdered, is called a seli knave, p. 15; the same sense of the word is found in Gloucestershire twenty years later. It is most remarkable that one word should bear two meanings wide as the poles asunder, at one and the same time. We may gather from this sælig, that the Havelok was written in the Westernmost part of the Danelagh.

In this Poem, men are often exhaustively described, not as one and all, but as brown and blak. The ballad phrase red gold is now in vogue; the old phrase had been used long before this time, as we see in Kemble's Charters, IV. 292. An Adjective is qualified by having a Substantive prefixed; we hear of stan-ded (p. 50), a phrase used by Lord Essex in 1641; the phrase is explained in p. 75, where an earl falls ded so ani ston. At p. 30 we light upon clopes, al span newe; the word comes from the old spon, a chip; we should now say, brand new. The Scandinavian phrase for this was spán-nyr.

As to Pronouns: the French use vous, when addressing the Almighty; this took root in the Northern half of England. Havelok, when in earnest prayer, employs the word unmusical in Quaker's ear:

For the holi milce of you Have merci of me, loverd, nou.2—P. 41.

I think we owe our freedom from this particular corrup-

¹ The sense of *infelix* remained till 1600. James VI. was called by a Scotch minister 'God's silly vassal.' Our silly means stultus now, though it stood for bonus in Layamon's Second Text: this reminds us of the Greek euethes.

² This still lingers in Scotland; see the Psalms turned *intil* Scottis by Mr. Waddell, published in 1871; such phrases as 'heigh, O Lord, i' yer ain might,' come constantly.

tion to our version of the Lord's Prayer, where tu is rightly Englished by the kindred pu, thou; to this we have always steadfastly clung. We saw the sense in which Orrmin employed theirs; this is now extended; at p. 79 we read, England authe for to ben youres. This is a sure mark of the North. At p. 2 we see the idiom, well known to ballad-makers, where it becomes something like an Indeterminate Pronoun, as in the Ancren Riwle:

It was a king bi are dawes
That in his time were gode lawes.

There is another use of the Indefinite it at p. 3: wo so dede wrong, were it clerc or were it knicth, &c. At p. 68 we see the earliest instance of a well-known vulgarism:

'Hwan Godard herde pat per prette.'

The Oblique case of the old Article may have had some influence here; ex illá horá was Englished by of pære tide. At p. 29 more is employed in a new sense; Havelok would not rest more pan he were a best; we should now put any before this more.

There is a change in the use of Numerals; at p. 55, Havelok has a wound in the side, and on poru his arum; here on is employed without repeating the Substantive. There is a new phrase in p. 75; two men fell down, first pe croune; we should now say, crown first; this is a kind of Dative Absolute.

We see the Northern Strong Verb weakened in the Participle, as pat he be henged (p. 70); the South stuck to the rightful hengen, our hung. At p. 57 knowed

(notus) is written to suit the rime, instead of *knawen*. The Southern Participle do (factum), not don, is found at p. 49, where it rimes with two.

We see both wolde have do (fecisset) and havede parned (caruisset); the two later forms of the Pluperfect Subjunctive. There is a startling new idiom in p. 79; the queen was brought, for hem for to se, 'for them to see.' This is found 170 years later in the Coventry Mysteries, which were compiled not far from Leicester. We saw in 1160 the phrase, 'he would have done it;' this usage is now extended to other verbs; in p. 49 comes, he wende have slawe (him), 'he thought to have slain him;' the Infinitive Present would here have been used earlier. I ween comes often as a mere expletive, as in p. 58. The noun wassail is now turned into a verb; men haveden wosseyled (p. 47). To prick is used in the fine old poetical sense that Macaulay loved:

An erl, pat he saw *priken* pore, Ful noblelike upon a stede.—P. 75.

We find such phrases as he let be barre fleye (fly), to sey nay, clap him on be crune, crak his crune, brek up mi dor. The old dugan (valere) appears here, and henceforward was confined to the North, except in our common phrase 'how do you do?' here the first do stands for facere, the last for valere. The Scotch, less careless than ourselves, make dow their form for valere.

We see an Adverb formed from a Preposition in poruth-like (thoroughly), p. 21. The Scandinavian nær, like the Old English neh, expressed the Latin fere; at p. 54, we find, ner als naked so he was born. At p. 58

comes the old Scandinavian phrase til ok frá in our form, to and fro. The overpwert of p. 80, with its last unmistakeable Danish letter, has since been pared down to athwart.

Some Prepositions are used in a new way. The of was encroaching on the on; a phrase such as the old gebletsod on (inter) wifum makes way for ricth he lovede of alle binge. p. 3. We see at p. 56, it is of him mikel scape; hence Shakespere's 'O, the pity of it!' The of replaces for in the phrase ilker twenti knihtes havede of genge (p. 66). The with becomes prominent. Layamon had written of mid here breches; we now see help him down with he birbene, p. 28; and hwat sholde ich with wif do? p. 35. At p. 41 comes nim in with be, the forerunner of our 'get along with you.' The at is employed for the Preposition on, where something is specially marked out, as happening within a short time; at a dint (blow) he slow hem pre, p. 50. In such-like phrases we see how near a and one are to each other. A new sense of against is seen at p. 60: brithter pan gold ageyn pe lith (light). In the Ancren Riwle, umbe stonde had stood for nonnunquam; here it stands for quondam, when the Danes refer to a deceased king, at p. 64; the word was altered in Scotland into umbe hwile (umquhile), with the same meaning of quondam.

There are a few Interjections; at p. 36 comes be devel him hawe! at p. 56 comes God-pank in the middle of a sentence. In our thank God! the first word must be a noun, the last word must be in the Dative case.

The Scandinavian verb * leyke (ludere) is sounded in this Poem just as our Northern shires still pronounce it; we of the South call it lark, following the Old

English *ldcan.*¹ In our sound of *weak*, we lean to the Northern *waike*, the Scandinavian *veikr*, rather than to the Old English *wdc*, which was at this time pronounced *woc* all through Southern England. Chaucer ruled in this instance for the Northern form, which must have made its way to London by his time. The form *polk*, for *pool*, is peculiar to the Dano-Anglian shires, and appears both here and in the Tristrem.

As might be expected, there are many Danish words in the Havelok. I give those which England has kept, together with one or two to be found in Lowland Scotch.

Big, from the Icelandic bolga (tumere).

Bleak, from the Icelandic bleikr (pallidus).

Blink, from the Danish blinke.

Boulder (a rock), from the Icelandic balla or.

Coupe, as in horse-couper, from the Icelandic kaupa (emere).

Crus (Scotch crouse), from the Swedish krus (excitable).

Ding, from the Icelandic dengia, to hammer.2

Dirt, from the Icelandic drit (excrementa).

Goul (to yowl, ululare), from the Icelandic gaula.

Grime, from the Norse grima (a spot).

Hemp, from the Icelandic hampr, not from the Old English hanep.

Put 3 (to throw), from the Icelandic potta.

Sprawl, from the Danish sprælle.

Stack, from the Danish stak.

Teyte (tight, active), from the Norse teitr (lively).

¹ This verb will soon once more find its way into Standard English. Wellington, before 1816, speaking of an officer who had got himself killed needlessly, said, 'What business had he larking there?' See Lord Macaulay's Life, II. 277.

² Can our noun 'dig in the side' come from this?

 $^{^{\}circ}$ Hence comes the phrase, putting the stone, first found in this Poem.

Besides these Scandinavian words, we find in the Havelok other words now for the first time employed. Such are lad (puer), from the Welsh llawd ; stroute, our strut (contendere), a High German word; boy (puer), akin to the Suabian buah; to butt, akin to the Dutch botten; but, (a bout at wrestling), which Mr. Wedgwood derives from bugan (flectere), and bought, a word applied to the coils of a rope, and so to the turns of things that succeed each other. File, akin to the Dutch vuil, means a worthless person; we may still often hear a man called 'a cunning old file.' In 2499 of the Havelok, we read,

'Here him rore, pat fule file.'

To-tuse (divellere) is akin to a High German word; from it comes the dog's name Towser. The Verbal Noun sobbing, first found here, is said to be a word formed from the sound imitated.

It is curious to see in this Lay two forms of the same word that has come to England by different channels; we have gete (custodire) from the Icelandic gæta; and also wayte, which means the same, coming from the French guaiter, a corruption of the wahten brought into Gaul by her German conquerors. Sad havock must have been wrought with English prepositional compounds in the eighty years that separate the Havelok from the Ormulum. In compound words, winde, the Greek ampli, comes only three times throughout the long Poem before us; for only five times; with only once; of not at all. The English tongue had been losing some of its best

¹ Lodes, the Welsh female of this word, has become our lass.

appliances. The Preposition to, answering to the German zer and the Latin dis, was still often found in composition, and did not altogether drop until the days of James I.; it was even prefixed to French Verbs.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(About A.D. 1280.)1

THE HAVELOK .- Page 38.

On be nith, als Goldeborw lay, Sory and sorwful was she av, For she wende she were biswike.a a tricked pat sh[e w]ere yeven unkyndelike.b b unnaturally O nith saw she per-inne a lith. A swipe c fayr, a swipe bryth, c very Al so brith, al so shir.d d clear So it were a blase of fir. She lokede no(r), and ek south, And saw it comen ut of his mouth, pat lay bi hire in be bed: No ferlike e pou she were adred. e wonder pouthe she, 'wat may this bimene? f will be He beth f heyman yet, als y wene, He beth heyman g er he be ded.' s nobleman On hise shuldre, of gold red She saw a swipe noble croiz, Of an angel she herde a voyz, 'Goldeborw, lat pi sorwe be, For Havelok, bat have pspuset be, He [is] kinges sone, and kinges eyr, Dat bikenneth h pat croiz so fayr. h betokens

In this Poem nith stands for night, and other words in the same way.

It bikenneth more, pat he shal Denemark haven, and Englond al. He shal ben king strong and stark Of Engelond and Denemark.¹ Dat shal bu wit bin eyne sen,1 i see And po shalt quen and levedi ben.' * voice Danne she havede herd the stevene ^k Of pe angel uth of hevene, I many times She was so fele sipes blithe, Pat she ne mithe hire joie mythe. m moderate But Havelok sone anon she kiste, And he slep and nouth ne wiste. Hwan pat aungel havede seyd, Of his slep anon he brayd," n started And seide, 'lemman, slepes pou? A selkuth o drem dremede me nou. wondrous Herkne nou hwat me haveth met,p P I dreamt Me bouthe y was in Denemark set, But on on be moste q hil q greatest Dat evere yete kam i til. It was so hey, pat y wel mouthe Al pe werd r se, als me pouthe. r world Als i sat upon pat lowe, s hill I bigan Denemark for to awe, De borwes t and be castles stronge; t boroughs And mine armes weren so longe. That i fadmede, al at ones, Denemark, with mine longe bones. And panne v wolde mine armes drawe u when Til me, and hom for to have, Al that evere in Denemark liveden On mine armes faste clyveden.* = clave And he stronge castles alle On knes bigunnen for to falle,

¹ This way of pronouncing all the three vowels alike of the word *Engelond* had not died out in Shakespere's time.

De keves fellen at mine fet. Anober drem dremede me ek, Dat ich flev y over be salte se Til Engeland, and al with me pat evere was in Denemark lyves, But a bondemen, and here wives, And pat ich kom til Engelond, Al closede it intil mine hond. And, Goldeborw, y gaf [it] be. Deus! lemman, hwat may his be?' Sho answerede and seyde sone: 'Jhesu Crist, pat made mone, Dine dremes turne to joye; pat wite b pw that sittes in trone. Ne non strong king, ne caysere, So you shalt be, fo[r] you shalt bere In Engelond corune yet; Denemark shal knele to be fet. Alle be castles but aren ber-inne, Shal-tow, lemman, ful wel winne.'

) flew

z alıve

a except

b decree

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND.

(About A.D. 1280.)

Whan Jhesu Crist was done on rode And polede dep for ure gode, He clepede to hym seint Johan, pat was his oze qenes man, And his ozene moder also, Ne clepede he hym feren no mo. And sede, 'wif, lo her pi child pat on pe rode is ispild:
Nu ihc am honged on pis tre
Wel sore ihc wot hit rewep pe.
Mine fet and honden of blod Bipute gult ihc polie pis ded.

Mine men pat azte me to love,
For whan ihc com from hevene abuve,
Me havep idon pis ilke schame.
Ihc nave no gult, hi bup to blame.
To mi fader ihc bidde mi bone,
pat he forzive hit hem wel sone.'
Marie stod and sore weop,
pe teres feelle to hire fet.
No wunder nas pez heo wepe sore,
Of soreze ne mizte heo wite no more,
Whenne he pat of hire nam blod and fless,
Also his suete wille was,
Heng inayled on pe treo.
'Alas, my sone,' seide heo,
'Hu may ihc live, hu may pis beo?'

The above is taken from the Assumption of the Virgin, printed by the Early English Text Society, along with the King Horn and the Floriz, written about 1280 or later. In them we find that the Active Participle in inge, first used by Layamon, has almost driven out the older inde. The King Horn was written in some part of England (Warwickshire?), upon which the East Midland dialect had begun to act, grafting its Plural form of the Present tense upon the older form in eth. We find also in the Horn, as in the Havelok, such Midland forms as pei, til, childre, he nam (ivit), and boze (puer). Forms like fiss (piscis) and diss were found rather later in Gloucestershire. It is convenient to discuss all the three poems of the one manuscript together; the Assumption and the Floriz may perhaps come from Worcestershire, for we find Layamon's forms feolle (cecidit), huren (conducere), and the Salopian preference of the e, as kenne (genus), kesse, merie (hilaris), senful;

the pulte of the South is altered into pelte, p. 40; it as yet means ruere, not torquere. There is Orrmin's biqqe (emere) at page 49. The form kneweling (genuflectio) is found in Layamon and Robert of Gloucester. The writer is fond of the u sound, as clupe for clepe, gud for god (bonus), p. 60; fout (pes) for fot, p. 4; he has the Salopian shup (navis). At p. 27 we see ires (aures) riming with tires (lacrymæ), where the first vowel is pronounced as we sound it now; there is also strimes. The greatest change is that of hwa swa into ho so, (whoso), in p. 59; the sound of the w is already got rid of, and this spread into Lincolnshire twenty years later. The v and the p are both cast out in the middle of a word; we see both loverd and lord, Apelbrus and Aylbrus; there is also he hap, as in other parts. The s is added, for we find whannes (unde.) There is a curious interchange between w and b, which reminds us of the two ways in Greek for expressing the first letter of the name Virgil; the old wylm (fervor) leads to the Verb bulmet (fervet), p. 59; the French boil may have had its influence here. The p is written like z, as usual in the manuscripts of this time; at p. 69 comes hi criex (clamant).

Among Substantives, we see the new *knigthod*; also cast (jactus). Horn and Floriz, the heroes of two of the poems here printed, were but children at the outset of the tale; so the title *child* is given to them throughout. This synonym for *knight* is well known in our old ballads, and lasted down to Childe Harold's day. There is the phrase in p. 2, hit was upon a someres day. At p. 73, comes, pe Admiral he bid god day; in the Digby

Manuscript of the same date the rightful Accusative golne day is still kept. At p. 52 an Adjective is employed for a Substantive, heo fulde of a brun; 'she filled from a brown (jack);' we now employ browns for pence. The like is seen at p. 34; he wipede pat blake of his swere; the blacks are well known to Londoners. At p. 56 we find pu were pe betere; this Nominative would earlier have been the Dative pe; a little lower comes, 'hold him for more pane fol.' The old interchange between it and there comes out clearly in the phrase hit sprang dai list, (p. 4). In p. 65 stands schal me nevre atwite me; the first me is the Gloucestershire form of the Indefinite men.

There is a curious idiom of a Passive and an Active Participle being coupled, at p. 70; felons inome hond-habbing. At p. 29 we see strike seil, the first instance of this. Chivalrous ideas were now being widely spread under the sway of our great Edward, and we find that a Verb has been formed from the substantive knight:

For to knizti child horn.—P. 14.

At p. 10 comes her abute; we often now turn an Adverb into a Substantive, when speaking of a man's whereabouts.

We see the Preposition at supplanting on at p. 61, because the former was most like the French à; pleie at pe escheker, (chess); most of our indoor games at this time came from France; there is another encroachment by at upon on in p. 36, he at dipe (death) laie. Of supplants on at p. 69, hire wist (weight) of gold. The of was being used as freely as in the Havelok; at p. 29,

comes telle me al of pine spelle; the partitive use of this of after sum must have been the model followed here.

We now light on scrip (pera), which comes from the Scandinavian streppa, and pore (spectare), akin to the Swedish pala. Mr. Wedgwood points to pala i en bok (pore on a book); we have the Verb peer as well as pore, like deem and doom. There are also three words akin to the Dutch or German; clench (our clink), flutter, and guess; the latter means 'to weigh or calculate,' and has long lived as an expletive in America, much as Wickliffe nsed it.

Many of the Poems, which remain to us in the Harleian Manuscript compiled about 1315, seem to belong to 1280; so old a form as maydenmon (virgo) is here found. They have been printed in the Specimens of Lyric Poetry, (Percy Society); in the Political Songs, (Camden Society); in the Poems of Walter Mapes, (Camden Society); and in the 'Reliquiæ Antiquæ.' We may safely set the compilation down to the shire where the St. Katherine was translated; there are many forms and idioms common to both pieces. The greatest peculiarity of the present compiler is his changing eo into ue; he has suen for seon (videre) at p. 100 (Lyric P.). We see our schow (monstrare) at p. 196 (Political S.), though this must have had the sound of the French ou. The v is cast out at p. 111 (Lyric P.), for devel becomes del, the Scotch deil. The form quaque (tremere) is curious, in p. 348 (Mapes' P.); here the first qu is pronounced in the English way, the second in the French way.

The old form man kin is now altered into monkunde (mankind), p. 81 (Lyric P.). Crop was much used in

the sense of caput about this time, as in the phrase cropant rote; our cropper differs not much from header; the one belongs to the land, the other to the water. Cherl is used in the sense of fellow, p. 111 (Lyric P.). Score is now used for a written account, p. 155 (Political S.). The lad and boi of the Havelok are here repeated. Women now bear the names of Magge and Malle, p. 158 (Political S.). At p. 349 of the Mapes' Poems, the grave is called oure long hom.

Seli, in the Western shires, had changed its meaning from beatus to infelix (like our 'poor fellow'); this we saw in the Havelok. An animal unjustly treated is on that account called the seliasse, p. 198 (Political S.). In the next page comes dogged, applied to the wolf; it seems here to stand for crudelis. Further on, at p. 203, we read of a sori wed, the sense that sori had begun to bear in the Havelok. At 68 (Lyric P.) we hear of a body beaten blak ant blo; blee (lividus) is English; bloie (exeruleus) is French. At p. 152 (Political S.) we see the origin of our common as good as, where good stands for well; ase god is swynden anon as so for te swynke. We say 'that is as good as saying, &c.'; here we see how the Infinitive in en became ing. Worthy had hitherto been followed by the Infinitive; at p. 71 (Lyric P.) comes make me worthi that y so be.

At p. 58 of the same, we see the Possessive Pronoun set after its Substantive; swete Ihesu, loverd myn, as in the Blickling Homilies. The Indefinite it is extended in meaning at p. 110; 'no wight, unless hit bue the hegge.' The ne, even in this Southern shire, is making way for nout, as we see in p. 111. At p. 196 (Political

Songs) there is a great change; we see al thai, whate hi evir be. The old swa hwat swa is a thing of the past; and the Neuter hwat is now used for the Masculine hwa, or perhaps for hwylc. The modern Relative sense of the latter Pronoun is gaining ground at p. 205; the poet talks of the joy of heaven; he then begins a new sentence; to whoch joi Crist bring us.

As to Verbs: bist (tu es) is in 72 (Lyric P.); it belongs to the South, and was used three hundred years later by the great Warwickshire bard. The mot and most were not quite settled as vet: in 199 (Political S.) stands Godis grame most hi have: here we should now put may for most. In p. 203 comes men mot it hide: here we should now put must for mot. At p. 155, comes y shal rewen huere redes; here rue, as in the Harrowing of Hell, is employed in our modern way; it would have been earlier me shall rewen of &c. We see such phrases as he weep a flod of teres, p. 70 (Lyric P.); do wey, 'make way' (p. 90); and thy wille ne welk y ner a fote, (p. 100) 'I followed thy will never a foot.' We here see the beginning of our idiom, 'to walk the hospitals.' In the Political Songs, wed takes a new meaning, for it is used of a priest marrying a couple (p. 159). But the greatest change in the Verb is to be found in the 'Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. p. 122. Long before this time, we saw in Domesday Book French names such as Taillebosc and This compounding of a Verb with an Accusative is now passed on to English; an old man is called by his wife spille-bred, or as we should now say, a bread-waster. This new idiom was to flood England with new compounds in the Reformation age; though it is

now but little used; our grooms call a horse a crib-biter, not a bite-crib; we have in this stuck to the old Teutonic way of compounding. Almost six hundred years separate spille-bred and know-nothing, the last similar Frenchborn compound that I can remember; it was a word of great American renown about 1855. Another imitation of the French is seen in a piece of this age, in the 'Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' I. p. 133; we read of animals called the go-bi-dich, the stele awai, and many such. This idiom was imitated by Bunyan in his Mr. Dare-not-lie, &c.; the name Praise God Barebones was once well known. We now talk of a drink as a 'pick me up;' a slow man is called 'old stick in the mud.'

At p. 94 (Lyric P.) we meet with the so needlessly set before an Adjective, the idiom well known to our ballad-makers:

Levedi, seinte Marie, so fair ant so briht.

Wel is used for rihte in p. 80, stond wel under rode, reminding us of the old well nigh.

At p. 68 (Lyric P.) we find the love of the; we have before seen thi love. But this of was giving way to on; at p. 91 we see the old idiom rewe of me; at p. 90, comes the new rewe on me. This idiom is repeated in the Alexander and the Piers Ploughman, compiled in neighbouring shires. In the Gothic, and with the dative sometimes follows Verbs of emotion. (Mätzner, II. 371.) In the Mapes' Poems, p. 347, comes al o fure, and the Alexander, rather later, has sette on fyre. With is now used like the Latin ab before a person; thou art wayted (watched) with fader ant al my kynne, p. 91 (Lyric P.);

this with is employed in the same way in Piers Ploughman; we still say, 'I was taken with him.'

There are some new Teutonic words; the pains of hell are said to be tylel, p. 346 (Mapes' Poems); we still speak of a 'ticklish business.' At p. 111 (Lyric P.) comes drynke of fol god bous, whence comes our boozy. At p. 150 (Political S.), we hear of menthat pylieth the pore ful clene; this is akin to the Dutch picken. At page 157, we light upon those who polleth a parosshe in pyne; hence comes our Verb poke, which is found often in Salopian writers of the following age with the l cast out; this also is seen in Dutch. At p. 158, we hear that a woman is by-modered (distraught); hence perhaps our muddled, with the usual change of r and l.

About this time, 1280, English was making a new start. Some of the pieces in the Lyric Poems, especially those in pages 80, 90, and 110, foreshadow the wonderful power and ease that our tongue was soon to display. The English Hymn, as we now commonly have it, was beginning to appear: some specimens are to be found in this manuscript: the four lines of each stanza end in one rime. I give an example, from p. 70 (Lyric P.):—

Jhesu, when ich thenke on the, Ant loke upon the rode tre, Thi suete body to-toren y se, Hit maketh heorte to smerte me.

To this time, about 1280, belongs the tale of Dame Siriz, a translation from the French; it is printed in Wright's 'Anecdota Literaria.' It was written somewhere on the Great Sundering Line, from its mixture of

Northern and Southern forms. We find, as in the Havelok, gar, gang, I mon, hethen (hence), thou besteris), Goddot, fair and fre, we helpen, til, have; there is also senne (peccatum), clarc, and sweeting; all Severn forms. Perhaps the poem was written in South Staffordshire; the Southern thilke, muchel, and womon (mulier) appear; and also the Accusative of the Adjective, have godne dai, a very late instance; both selke and sulke express talis.

Bed (jussit) keeps its vowel-sound to this day. The h is wrongly prefixed, as in hon and houncurteis; n is added to Orrmin's old uppo, for we find oppon; here there must have been some confusion with on. Besides the form Siriz, we see Sirith (p. 9), which rimes with grith; this confusion we have already seen in the Yorkshire sestred.

At p. 5 comes the expression trewe as stel. The eft some of Dorset now becomes efftsones (p. 11). At p. 7 an old woman says, I bidde mi paternoster and mi crede; this Possessive Pronoun has since been used of books that men ought to read; 'I have studied my Gibbon,' says one of Mr. Trollope's heroines. At p. 8 appears the origin of the cumbrous 'if so be that,' well known in our Bible; if hit be so that thou me helpe.

In p. 7 we see go telle mi serene (sorrow); here and should have come after go. At p. 6 comes God the *i-blessi*; in the next page this is shortened into blesse the, blesse the! Forms like 'save us' and 'curse it' were to come later. The old umbe was now being dropped for aboute; at p. 4 comes ich am i-gon aboute to speken; the idea of earnest purpose is here prominent,

and this lasted down to 1611. We find phrases such as to do for the (rem gerere pro te). The old get had hitherto meant adipisci; it now leans towards the meaning of suadere; ich gette hire to mi wille (p. 8). There is a new sense of the verb run in the next page; we hear of eyes running. A curious idiom, which we saw in the Chronicle of 1096, is found in the following lines, in p. 9:

I shal mak a lesing Of thin heie renning;

that is, 'I shall tell a lie about thine eye running.' Here the Verbal Noun has a Substantive prefixed. Some would wrongly say that the renning was an Infinitive, following the of, just as the French de takes an Infinitive after it.

As to Prepositions: we hear of a man being from hom (p. 5); this is a relic of the old fram pe, 'apart from thee,' in the Psalms.

This poem is a translation from the French; we are not surprised therefore, on finding bote (but) used like the French mais at the beginning of a sentence (p. 7): mais oui is a truly French idiom. And had been long used to English si as well as et: a distinction seemed to be called for; so in the middle of p. 11 we see the d cut off and an (si) used for the first time. In the third line of p. 12 we find and if used for si; the two words are coupled, and this usage lasted down to 1611, for but and if (sed si) begins a sentence in our New Testament.

We here find not only the proper name Wilekin, which had long been known, but also Margeri. The

¹ The English Margeri seems common-place by the side of the

fair of Botolfston is mentioned, which is not as yet cut down to Boston; the prefix Saint has been dropped. We see for the first time the French words pepis (pips), mustard, and juperti (jeopardy), p. 9.

Along with Dame Siriz are printed a few other poems from the Digby Manuscript; they seem to have been written about 1280, much further to the South; for there are forms like asseth (rogat) and bugen (emere). In p. 90 we see the phrases her and there, eizte werof thou were loverd; here whereof is used in a new way. In the next page comes to ben agast, leste &c.

In another poem from the Digby Manuscript, The Thrush and Nightingale (Hazlitt, 'Early Popular Poetry,' I. 50) we find sheme for shame, filde for feld (campus), just as we now pronounce these words. In p. 57 we see a well-known proper name altered into Bedlehem, whence comes Bedlam.

The last piece that seems to belong to 1280 is the Tristrem (Scott's edition), a poem which we owe to the North; it was transcribed fifty years later, most likely in Salop.¹ The Northern forms are gif (si), titly, thou ses (vides), men seis (aiunt), swalu (passer), untroweand, fiftend, warld, tan (captus), hate (calidus), bist (emis), ye (tu), which last is always coming. The poem may have been written in Yorkshire, not far from the Lancashire and Derbyshire borders; for we find hye (illa), also Orrmin's thou was (eras), and han (habent). The down right of the Northern Psalter is repeated. Verbal nouns abound,

nobler Scotch Marjory. A wonderful difference is made by forms of spelling.

¹ I give a specimen of this in Chapter VII.

a sure mark of the North. But the Passive Participle, with the final n clipped, has made its way upwards; the Poet certainly wrote might have be in p. 173, as we see by the rimes; the Southern drawe has also come into Yorkshire (p. 181). The chief tokens of the Transcriber's alterations are to be found in to, ich, boathe, brethern, no, where twa, ilk (idem), bathe, brether, and na must have been written. He sometimes, but not always, turns ogain (iterum) into oyain; in p. 100 tho (quum) has been turned into though. The clearest marks of transcription are to be seen in the last lines of the two stanzas in p. 152. The Salopian form kenne (genus) has been substituted for kinne at p. 82. much to the injury of the rime; and of life (de vitâ) has been turned into olive, which makes nonsense, in p. 105.

As to Vowels: the old tehte (docuit) now becomes taught; our form slain (cæsus) comes at p. 93. The old glewe (cantus) is found, and also the new gle, (p. 82). The poet had no scruple in using Southern forms, when he wanted a rime; kende (genus) comes in p.150, and the Plural dayn (dies) in p. 153. At p. 30 we see penis, a word cut down to pens in the next page. We at last come upon our ought (debet), which had been long in gaining its abiding shape; there is also anough (satis).

There is a strong tendency to cast out Consonants: the Verb dronken (mergere) of the Northern Psalter now becomes droun (p. 90), our drown; the old Verb swogan is seen as swoun (p. 16). The stigrap of former days, the rope by which you stie up, is now written stirop. The

old Icelandic mithla was usually meddle in English; but at p. 189 we see, the cuntre with hem meld, a great contraction: our slang word mill (pugnare) may come from this; Scott writes, dare ye mell wi' Donald Caird. The French mélée is well known. The former gehald (castellum) is pared down to hald (p. 168), our hold; the French consistorie becomes constori. The old dareb (jaculum). is now dart. On is pared down to a in a bed, a fot, and a loft: we now run the Prepositions and the Nouns into one word. The waxes (fluctus) of Layamon's Second Text now become waves, a form that was to last until Tyndale wrote it waves. The old verb siftan (cribrare) now forms the Noun sive (p. 114), which was written sift in Norfolk so late as 1440. Enough might even in the North be pronounced without the guttural at the end, as we see by the rimes in p. 182. The intrusive n appears in messanger, p. 151.

As to Substantives: the Verbal Nouns are fast increasing; we find his wining, p. 53; her blod leteing, p. 126, and many others. Orrmin's endeday now becomes ending day, p. 102. We hear of something being done open a somers day. We have seen Sir, Dame, and Child prefixed to proper names; we now find maiden Blauncheflour. Instead of see, have a sight of is used in p. 38. Yrland side is in p. 61; here the last word is not needed; it shows the origin of our phrase, the whole country side. Drink of main (p. 97) is used for a mighty drink. We see an idiom well known to our ballad-makers in p. 112; gavisus est is Englished by glad a man was he. In p. 32 the old bonda (colonus) gives way to husbondman; the poet has elsewhere a new meaning for

bond; at p. 55 comes, to long ichave ben her bond, 'too long I have been their thrall.' Husbonde of old had meant only conjux and paterfamilias; the confusion of the derivative from the Scandinavian bua with the derivative from the Old English bindan is likely to puzzle the modern student. It is strange that the servile meaning of bond should be found first in a shire much peopled by Danes. Already, in the Northern Psalter, bunden (vinctus) has been changed into bonden.

There is a tendency to use Adjectives as if they were Substantives: at p. 179 comes Ysonde men calleth that fre; here lady should follow the last word; we know Hood's 'one more unfortunate.' This bold (p. 116) reminds us of the French ce brave. At p. 57 is thai seylden into the wide; just as we talk of the open. At p. 170 we see the old liftic (vivax) gain a new meaning: it is here applied to images that resemble life; we now make a difference between lively and life-like. Orrmin's qeznlike is now seen as qain (promptus), p. 51; and the word is still well known in Yorkshire. The Adjective long is altogether dropped in the phrase, the wand was tuelve fete, p. 147; something like the idiom common in the oldest English, he was twelfwintre (eald). A new idiom of time is seen in p. 154; a pair live in pleasure for tuelmoneth thre woukes las; this would earlier have been 'less by three weeks.'

The Pronoun his was now used freely without being coupled to a Noun; in p. 57, two men sail forth, each in his own ship,

Moraunt band his beside, And Tristrem lete his go. There is a new form for the Reflexive Pronoun in p. 18; that maked hem bonn; we still say, 'I lay me down.' The Indefinite it gains ground; in p. 98, Tristrem would have been slain, no were it for the king; Orrmin would have written nære for no were it. The as was being used for the Latin quod, just as our lower class still use it; an hille as he hadde mett, is in p. 154. In p. 151 comes a poetical idiom that Chaucer loved:—

Who was blithe in halle, Bot Ysonde the quen?

A touch of this lingers in Scott's 'Peveril,' chapter xxiii.; Everett says: 'he was who but he with the regents.'

In Verbs: did is coming in fast; as thai dede obade, (manserunt), p. 54; this revived idiom was making way elsewhere, as we see in the Havelok. The most, in the sense of oportet, had travelled up from Dorset to Yorkshire within forty years; in p. 94 is nedes he most abide; the most is also used for liquit (p. 164); ye moten is used in the sense of oportet, in p. 106. The French idiom, first found in St. Katherine's Legend, is repeated in p. 160; we there see Tristrem went, withouten coming oyain; here the Infinitive comen takes the form of the Active Participle. We should never, I think, presume that this ing after a Preposition represents an old Infinitive, unless the Prepositions answer to sans, pour, or de, which govern an Infinitive in French. We hear of men ridingout of haven; of laying money on a thing; these remind

¹ An or en becomes ing, just as the old Abbandum is now Abingdon, and some people turn captain and garden into capting and garding.

us of Scandinavia. We read, moreover, of breaking heads: of dealing strokes; of setting a child to lore. The Verb bitaken, used for tradere in Layamon's Second Text, was now pared down to take; at p. 21 comes, sche toke Rouhant a ring; at p. 92 comes. Tristrem toke asaut to that dragoun; we still say, 'he took him a crack on the head.' The old Verbs lere (docere) and lern (discere) are no longer kept distinct; 1 in p. 24 comes, he lernd him. At p. 147, stand gets, as in Scandinavia, the sense of ferre as well as stare; his strok may no man stand.2 Lavamon's Verb dash had been transitive: but we now find, over the breage he deste, p. 149. At p. 25 comes the enquiry, 'What wilt thou lay?' the answer is, tuenti schillinges to say; we should now put, say twenty shillings. In p. 36 comes the challenge, who better can lat se; we should now say, let us see; here the us is intrusive. The Past Participle of stician (pungere) had always been Weak: it is now confused with the Strong Verb steken (claudere), and we see mine hert hye hath y-steke (p. 177). Y trowe is used as a mere expletive in p. 182; this is the Scandinavian trúi eg; y wene was elsewhere coming into use in the same sense. The Verb is dropped, after the French fashion, in the request, swete Ysonde, thin are, (bestow pity), p. 123.

We see such Adverbial phrases, as, 'to mate fair,' 'he was fast by,' 'out, traitour, of mi land!' (p. 50), 'she wende al wrong,' 'he hated him dedely.' In the

¹ I have seen lern called the Passive Voice of lere.

² About the year 1848 there was a great dispute as to whether 'I stand no nonsense' was a phrase of Cromwell's time.

last word, we see the loss that England was undergoing. now that in the Dano-Anglian country she could not mark the distinction between an Adjective and an The old hrædlice (protenus) is now seen as redily (p. 39); this does not come from Orrmin's radiz (paratus). Than (tunc) is employed much as a Noun, for we find er than and bi than, a usage which comes down from before the Conquest. The old Comparative of feor (procul) was ferre, which may still be heard in Scotland as farrer; this was now confounded with further; and ferther (p. 94), our farther, is the result. The old Adverb cwicliche is pared down to quik at p. 98. We have seen stille used as adhuc three hundred years before this time; the idiom now comes up again; it was long peculiar to the North, and only slowly made its way to London. At p. 117 we find, yif he loveth the stille.

At p.18 we see over bord used of a ship. The replacing of into by on or in is again seen; it brast on peces, p. 92.

In p. 175 we find wel in the sense of the French eh bien at the beginning of a sentence, wel, whi seistow so?

Some Scandinavian words appear; such as bush (parare), from bua sig, 'to betake himself;' stilt, from the Swedish stylta, a support. To hobble, which is here found, is akin to a Dutch word meaning 'to jog up and down.' Stout is also pure Dutch. At p. 42 we find stormes bistayd hem; this new form, something like beset, is akin to the High German.'

There are rimed versions of two supposed Charters of King Athelstane's to Beverley and Ripon; these seem to belong to 1280; they are in Kemble's Collection, II. 186. The forms are very like those of the Yorkshire Psalter; the e is often doubled. We find the line clark, prest, parson, or cherel; persona was Englished by parson, following the French usage. The ye was wrongly written for you; pan say I ye; give I ye. There is na man sal have at do; the last two words, a Scandinavian form, have become the parent of our ado; we have turned an Infinitive facere into a Noun for negotium.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(1290.)

To this date seems to belong the Debate of the Body and the Soul, printed in the Poems of Walter Mapes, 334, (Camden Society). It may have been compiled somewhere near Rugby, for there is a mixture of Southern and Midland speech. Some of Orrmin's forms are repeated, as thou was, sumwat; the Participle glowende; his ner (neque) now becomes nor, p. 334. There is thertil, ding, to and fro, kirke, renne, are, as in the Havelok; and the trotevale (nonsense) a peculiar word found a few years later in South Lincolnshire. Asise is cut down to sise, another link with that county. Clockes (clutches) is seen; it came before in the Warwickshire version of the Ancren Riwle; to ride on heize horse (p. 337), is repeated in the Alexander, a few years later; that poem too may belong to Warwickshire. On

¹ Has the last syllable anything in common with *tilly vally*, upon which the Laird of Monkbarns discourses so learnedly?

the other hand, the Southern forms in the present work are lutel, i-kud, habbe, nis, honden, he (illi). We find both suwilk and suwiche for talis; als and as, with and mit, mikkel and michel: the poem is a work compiled close to the Great Sundering Line.

The sley (sapiens) of the Havelok now becomes sly, p. 339; and god (bonus) becomes guod, p. 334; we see the Vowel in its passage from the old sound of o to our modern sound u, the French ou. The Consonants are much clipped; sawe (vidi) becomes sau; the old sippan (post), is pared down to sin, p. 335; and this, like troterale, is repeated in a South Lincolnshire work, a dozen years later. Didst (fecisti) becomes dist. There is a curious combination of consonants in joyze (joy). The brunstan (sulfur) of Northern England now becomes brumston, p. 339; the u was elsewhere changed into i. An l is inserted into Layamon's Verb sturten, without changing the sense; in p. 335 is come thouz stertelinde; the meaning here is rather different from our startle.

The Adjective minde now adds a new meaning to its old sense memor; we hear at p. 336 that a man is mynde (inclined) to the world; this is repeated in the Lincolnshire work above referred to. We still say, 'I have a good mind to &c.' as well as 'mind you do it.'

In Verbs, we light upon our expletive ic seyze (I say), coming at the beginning of a sentence, p. 335. So lost was the governing principle of the old inflexions, that a new form of the Auxiliary Verb is struck off; ic mot, pu most, were not understood, and thou mostist (debuisti) is seen. We have seen fledde as a new Perfect of the Verb

theon (fugere); this is now found as the Past Participle, thine frend beon fledde, p. 334. We have already marked in the poems of 1270, betere is tholien than mornen; this Infinitive was now made to imitate the Active Participle; at p. 338 comes merci criende lutel avuilede, crying mercy (petere misericordiam) little availed.'1 After this, it was easy to look upon criende, not as a Gerundial Infinitive, but as an Active Participle, and to write it crying. The whole of this subject is perhaps the most debated point in our English tongue; I hope I have in this work thrown some light upon it. Within the last six hundred years, a great load has been cast on our ending ing; it represents (1) the old Southern inde, the ending of Active Participles; (2) the old ung of Verbal Nouns; (3) the old Infinitive an and en, as in the case just quoted. All three usages are found in the one sentence: 'Hearing the roaring, without stirring, I looked.' No. 1 and No. 2 seem to be jumbled together in the phrase, 'They left beating of Paul.' Owing to this confusion, a wholly new English idiom was produced about 1770. Where the English Gospels of 1000 have wyle he faran (St. John vii. 35), Wickliffe has, he is to goyinge. Dr. Morris traces this usage down to about the year 1500. In the Poem now discussed, p. 336, we find the contrary form, to sume was my kinde, 'it was my nature to sin.'

We have already seen with used to express the Latin ab; and in this poem, p. 335, comes blowen with the wind.

¹ In the Essex Homilies of 1980, p. 39, we find to unniende.... and to driven; both of these forms alike represent the old Gerundial Infinitive. Mätzner (III. 77) gives many Fourteenth Century examples of the use of this perplexing ing.

In the page before, this with seems to express the Latin per; now with this selve thous art forlorn.

A French idiom here appears in English, something like si vieux hom com estes; our as seems to get the meaning of quanvis. The poet, in p. 339, says, 'Christ shielded me, a sunful man as I lay thore.'

At p. 337 we hear of a bothelere in charge of sheep; this new word reminds us of the dwellers in a Scotch bothie. In the specimen that follows, hw is written zw.

THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECT.

(1290.)

Zwan I bad to leve pride, * feast thi manie mes,2 thi riche schroud, The false world that stode biside bad the be ful quoynte and proud; b cover Thi fleychs with riche robes schride,b nougt als a beggare in a clougt; And on heize horse to ride, with mikel meyne in and ougt. Twan I bad the erliche to rise, c thought nim on me thi soule kep. Thoug seidest thoug migtest a none wise d morning forgon the murie morwed slep. e made your Zwan ze hadden set your sise,e arrangeye thre traytours, sore I wep; ment Ye ladde me wid oure enprise, as te bothelere doth is schep. Zwan thre traitours at a taletogidere weren agein me sworn. f mock Al ye maden trotevale f that I haved seid biforn.

Ze ledde me bi doune and dale, as an oxe bi the horn,Til ther as him is browen bale, ther his throte schal be schorn.

THE CONTRAST TO THE EAST MIDLAND. (1290.)

We redeth i pe holi godspelle of to dai pat ure lord ihesu crist yede one time into ane ssipe and ise deciples mid him into pe see. And so hi were in po ssipe so aros a great tempeste of winde. And ure lord was i-leid him don to slepe ine po ssipe, er pane pis tempeste aroos. Hise deciples hedde gret drede of pise tempeste, so awakede hine, and seiden to him, lord, save us, for we perisset. And ha wiste wel pet hi ne hadde nocht gode beleave ine him; po seide to hem; what dret yw, folk of litle beliave. Po aros up ure lord and tok pane wynd and to see, and al-so rape hit was stille.

This forms a part of the few Kentish Sermons, printed by Dr. Morris in his 'Old English Miscellany' (Early English Text Society), p. 32; they are translated from the French. We see the old forms, especially the Article in its three Genders, lingering on in Kent, long after they had been dropped elsewhere. This shire, where Hengist landed, preserved his speech with peculiar carefulness; nearly two hundred years after 1290, as Caxton tells us, the Kentish tongue sounded most strange in the ears of other Englishmen. We here find forms that remind us of the Homilies of 1120, such as fer (ignis), senne (peccatum), furti (quadraginta),

apiered (visus est), where the ie of the South East is forced into a French word. The Vowel-combinations in thief, leaf, reef, have but one sound (formerly the French é, but now the French i); the three forms come from different parts of England, much to the puzzlement of foreigners. The tirgen (fatigari) of East Anglia now becomes targi (morari), p. 36; the Old English word has got confused with the French targier; we now make a difference between tire and tarry. In the same page we find yare (auris), and something similar is written in a famous Kentish work fifty years later; this seems to show the oldest pronunciation of the English eare. So strong was the Southern leaning to o in the place of a, that the foreign angel is here written ongel. The Dorsetshire u had not replaced i in Kent, for we find wyman and michel. The o is doubled, as in goodman. What had been written Giwes is now cut down to Geus, just as we sound the word Jews, p. 26.

On turning to the Consonants: we see that Kent, like East Anglia, employed forms like sal for shall, thefte, maden (fecerunt). There is both loverd and lord; the old guttural in laghe (lex) is kept as strictly as in Yorkshire; but there are tokens of a coming change, for we find both felaghe (socius) and felarede, p. 31. The nicht (nox) and nocht (non) still keep the guttural. The new Participle in ing had not yet overrun Kent, which is far from Worcestershire. The h at the beginning of a word is sometimes clipped, and sometimes wrongly prefixed. The v instead of f was making way. There is siche (talis) as well as swiche; and the former may still be heard in our days. In p. 32 sollie

is put for shall ye; this is the forerunner of a corruption now widely spread, like 'do'ee now.' The sound of the g had become so softened in many instances, that tojanes is written for togeanes, p. 26. The form kink (rex) shows how strongly the g in king was sounded.

In Substantives, there is a falling away from the old standard; the writer prefers fer of helle to helle-fer. The word yldo had been used of old for both ætas and senectus; we see in p. 35 a budding tendency to express the latter by elde, and the former by the new French word åge, already employed in the Horn. Hepenesse is used in p. 26 for the old hæpennes; this looks like a copying of the French ending.

The Verbal Nouns were coming in everywhere; beringe stands for birth, in p. 26. The old hælend had long gone out; helere appears in its place, which had already been used twice before this time. The preacher addresses his flock as lordinges and levedis; we should now say, 'Ladies and gentlemen.' A new word, goodman, p. 33, Englishes paterfamilias. It is worth while to trace how a meaning leaps from word to word; I place the old sense above the new sense in each:

Here we see three English words, all within the Thirteenth Century, add wholly new senses to their old

meanings. This shifting of ideas from word to word is most strange.

An Old English idiom is kept up in, a sik man seyde 'Lord, Lord,' ha seide &c., p. 31; this repetition may be still heard.

A new idiom is found in p. 30: lecherie, spusbreche, roberie, purch wyche pinkes, &c.; here a new Substantive, things, is coupled with the Relative, to represent several other Substantives.

There is a strange union in p. 28; we read si mirre signefiet vastinge.... go ine pelrimage... and to do alle pe gode, &c. Here we have the Verbal Noun, the pure Infinitive, and the Infinitive with to, all governed by one Verb.

The swa of the Blickling Homilies starts to life again, in the sense of igitur; in p. 32, 'they feared, so they waked him.' The word al-so is used for sicut in p. 28, a remnant of the Old English form ealswa; elsewhere this also stood for etiam. There is a new Verb, glare, akin to the Low German.

In the Egerton Manuscript of this time ('Old English Miscellany,' p. 198) we see the new phrase, of pe king he meden (made) game.

The Digby Manuscript seems to have been drawn up about 1290, and contains poems of the previous twenty years: like Layamon's Second Text, it may belong to Hertfordshire; for, amidst many Southern forms, we find sal for shall; til; and the writer has gone out of his way to write pat (illud), in the Harrowing of Hell, p. 35. The Passive Voice was widening its bounds, for at p. 21 comes, he was don some (shame). Lording is

put for loverding, in the East Anglian way. The old manræden, manrede (homage) was at this time well understood in the North, and long survived in Scotch law deeds as manrent; but the meaning of the word had been lost in the South; the present compiler has altered manrede at p. 26 into mani redes, making great nonsense of the passage. It was the North that kept old Teutonic words, while the South let them slip. The Poet could not understand pou bilevest all pin one in the same page (manes tu solus), and so turns it absurdly into pou letest pe alone. He has the Southern forms hy (illi), sorewen, undo (not undon), and the old Accusative of the Article, pene. The French form neweu (nephew) is preferred to the Old English nefe, (p. 21); and this became common all through Southern England.

Some Herefordshire pieces, from the Lyric Poems and the Political Songs (both quoted above at p. 373), seem to belong to 1290. The old Imperative blawe had become first blowe and then blou (p. 51, Lyric P.); the community of sound between aw and ou could not be more strongly marked. The old hreaw (crudus) is now pared down to raw (p. 37, Political S.). A new idiom, repeated afterwards in another Western poem, that of Piers Ploughman, comes in p. 52 (Lyric P.); we hear of legges, fet, ant al; here all has a backward reference to several foregoing Nouns. We find the phrases, twynglyng of an eze, y make mournyng. At p. 52 (Lyric P.) comes God wolde hue (illa) were myn! Here the wolde is Optative; a few years later, we shall find the

¹ Neither Halliwell, nor even Garnett (see his *Essays*, p. 121), could understand this passage in its first shape.

two first words transposed. In p. 54 we read, heo wolle dele of bote with the; this new idiom with the of seems to come from the French dispose of, partake of. In p. 106 up becomes almost a Verb; up ant be god champioun. The proper name Colyn appears; also the Icelandic tyke (canis), still in Yorkshire use. There are the Low Dutch words momel (mumble) and poll (caput); there is also pate; it may come from the plat crown of a priest's head. There are the Celtic words, capel (caballus), and goblin (p. 238, Political S.); this last comes afterwards in Piers Ploughman, who wrote not far from Hereford.

These Herefordshire poems lead to the mention of an Old English Charter, modernised not long after this in the same county, (Kemble, IV. 218); about this time the French faverable must here have been inserted. In the Rubric the document is said to be, carta in linguâ Sazonicà translata in linguam Anglicanam. This is one of the first instances of the mischievous distinction made by our wiseacres between the English of 1066 and the English of 1300; the Germans and the Irish have been too wise to write nonsense of this kind; they set some store by the continuity of the names of their respective tongues. Robert of Gloucester, about 1300, opposes, though most seldom, Saxons to Normans; the Chronicles of 1066 talked of English, not of Saxons. In a Catalogue of Glastonbury Manuscripts, drawn up in 1248, the old national Homilies, a sealed book to that generation, were described as Sermones Anglici.1

¹ See Scinte Marherete, notes, p. 77.

About 1290, the long poem called the 'Cursor Mundi' was translated from the French; most likely in the North of Yorkshire.1 We have not the original translation, for even the oldest version we possess often mistakes a word. The Scandinavian element is most obvious; there are forms like thir, our these (p. 24), a phrase that long lingered in Scotch law papers; also Goddote, in p. 220; Jursalem, p. 530; with other such. hereafter to be noticed. In p. 1240, the Icelandic form stanga (pungere) is preferred to the English stingan. In p. 792, heliand, the Icelandic heiland, stands for the Verbal Noun healing. The piece cannot well be dated after 1290; for there are five obsolete Teutonic words in every fifty Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs; if we looked only at the obsolete Teutonic, we must date the piece about 1260; if we looked only at the vast proportion of French words, we must put it as late as 1340. In this strange proportion of the Old and the New, the Cursor Mundi stands alone in English; no more important piece has ever been printed, and Dr. Morris has done it full justice.

In the Cursor Mundi, it is most important to pay attention to the change in the sounds of the Vowels: this change soon prevailed all over Northern England and Scotland; it made its way to London about the year 1600, where it altered the sound, but not the spelling, of

¹ The plainest traces of the French original may be found in p. 1272; where we are told that French kings ought to wield the Roman Empire:

For in baa kinges sal it stand Ai to-quils bai ar lastand.

The last of all Roman Emperors is to be a King of France, who will go to Jerusalem, and there yield up his crown to Christ.

English words. Northern words and idioms had long been working down Southwards; the sound of Northern Vowels was, about 1600, to make the conquest of the South. A here replaces e, as hared (vastavit), farr (remotus), warren (pugnare); ræs (cursus) becomes ras. A replaces i, as wat yee (scitis) p. 996; it replaces o, as swar, (juravit), a corruption which Tyndale has brought into In some words the Southern a was now our Bible. sounded in the North like the French \hat{e} ; there is nain (nullus), sten (lapis), draif (pepulit), der (audeo). The a replaces y in p. 710, where hyrwe becomes haru, our harrow. The a is dropped altogether in 'he drogh him bak,' p. 908, and mang (inter), p. 698; also bide (manere). The French paralysie is cut down to parlesi, p. 678, and was long peculiar to the North. We see by the rime that in Y_{s-a-i} all three vowels were distinctly sounded. The auseems to have been pronounced like the French ou, for the old læwed (indoctus) is here written laud, and Rauland stands for the French Roland, p. 8, showing the interchange between o and ou. The e was sounded very broadly in the North, as we find yeit (adhuc); Orrmin's Jude (Judæa), is repeated here, and is still known as Judee in America; the ereplaced the o of the South, for we find enent (anent); it was dropped before u, for there is Hebru; the e at the end of a word vanishes, as in bridal; also at the beginning, for we find Spaigne for Espaigne, the Ispanie of 1087. The i replaced e, as in this are (heec sunt); the Icelandic blinda (cecare) comes instead of the Old English blendan, gli (gaudium) instead of gle; winnes (putat) instead of wenes; stile, hir, are to be found, the sound of which we keep in steel and

The Perfect spætte becomes spitt, p. 776, which is still improperly used by us. I replaces u, for the brunstan (sulphur) of the Northern Psalter now becomes brinstan, p. 170, not far from our brimstone. The old cwell (occidere) now becomes cole, on the way to our lill; in the Southern version, it is replaced by spille, p. 186. What had been written aru (sagitta) in the North, is now seen as aro, p. 576, just as we now pronounce the word; follow, harrow, and such like words were to take their new sound rather later. On the other hand, the u or ou was making great encroachments on the o; we find foul (stultus), buk (liber), dus (facit), pur (pauper), sun (mox), dum (judicare), bute (remedium), lousen (solvere), and many such; this is repeated later in the Townley Mysteries, which belong to Yorkshire. Our doubling the o to express the sound of the French ou reminds us that these words above cited once had the sound of o. The u is inserted; feepm becomes fathum (fathom) at p. 136. The destru at p. 378, shows what was the old sound of our destroy. The old ælmesse becomes almus, the awmous of Scott; see p. 1132.

As to the Consonants: b is clipped at the beginning of a word, for betwix becomes twix, p. 404; biheafding becomes hefding, as in 'hanging and heading:' umbehwile is seen as umquhile. The p is inserted, as dempt (damnatus), p. 1316; this must be an imitation of the French form. The f is cast out, for one fent becomes enent (anent), p. 1316; this letter in gifan is much mauled; in p. 38 we see gis (dat), and in p. 304 gin (datum), just as the Scotch sound these words now.

We find the proper name Steven, with the modern sound of the last three letters. The g disappears altogether in the middle of herberd, herbergean, (harboured), p. 886; we find forms like sigh, laghter, and rugh (rough); sometimes the guttural at the end is dropped, as in bu (ramus), and pou (quamvis); noht is replaced by not. The French utrage becomes outrake. p. 244. The c is inserted, when swilk (talis) becomes squilk, p. 194; and this insertion is most common in the Lancashire version of the poem. It is curious to find the old form biscop still lingering in the North, p. 1208. The d is cast out, godspel now turning into gospel; the t often stands for the old d at the end of Verbs, as in lent, reft, wont. The noght but of the North now becomes nobot (tantum) p. 1300; a word that Wickliffe loved. We find mell (miscere), p. 1294, which may come either from the Icelandic or the French.1 The tendency to contraction is shown in an Apostle's name being pared down to Bartillmen, p. 762; hence comes our Bartle. There is a fondness for casting out l, m, and n; carman replaces carlman (homo), and foke (p. 692) stands for folk much as we now sound the word. A famous Northern form is first seen in p. 1292, where a, riming with fra, stands for all. At p. 318, forme fader follows the Scandinavian forfavir, and becomes forfader, our forefather; this form was unknown in the South, and is written in the Southern Version, formaste fadir. The n is dropped at the end of mine and thine, even when they come before Vowels; we see forms like pi auen, p. 224, and mi aght, p. 392, the old on

¹ Wickliffe talks of 'wyn meddelid with myrre.'

middan is now emedd, our amid, p. 66. The r is added to words; the old lenge (morari) becomes lenger, p. 42; and nithemest (infimus) is seen as nethermast, p. 532. We also find the r inserted in anerli (anli, only), p. 1318; the allenarly of Scotch law documents is well known. r is transposed in the middle of a word; the old purlen (perforare) becomes thril, p. 678; the foriner, (præcursor), at p. 758, is a most shortened form of our fore-runner. There is the curious French form of writing x for s. (Deus, Dex), so often found in the 'Paston Letters'; flexs is here written for flesh. The s is clipped at the end of a word; for rédels (enigma) becomes redel at p. 412, though the old form lingered on in the South. The Latin Julius is pared down to July, p. 8; whence comes one of our months. On the other hand, s is added to alway, for we light on our alwais, p. 356. The w is thrown out, for we find wantun, p. 686, for the old wan-itowen (lascivus).

As to Substantives: we have already seen how ness was employed in the Northern Psalter as a favourite ending; we now find new coinages, such as selines and drednes; bliscednes (blessedness) appears for the first time, p. 976. At p. 436 it is hinted that Goliath trusts in his irinnes (armour); and this word rimes with wrangwisnes, formed after the pattern of rihtwisnes. On the other hand, the new form Iu-hede (p. 250) expresses Judaism; there is also takenhid (significatio), p. 1242. We find new Substantives, like donfall (downfall), incom (entrance, the Scandinavian innkváma), stancast (Scandinavian steinkast), windingclath, step, stint, crak; fute man, already used in the Lindisfarne Gospels, is now

repeated. But on the other hand, the old ness is sometimes cut off; the former widnesse now becomes wide, p. 104. (the Scandinavian vidd); it is on the road to our width; the old foreseonnes (providentia) appears as forsight, p. 1138; scipgebroc is scipbreging, p. 1200.1 An underlote, p. 126, is the full form of what afterwards became lout; the Northern phrase a smitt comes at p. 1072. and is altered in the other versions into a whit and a deal: this smitt (frustum) may be the parent of smithereen. The old half is making way for side, pp. 532 and 436, when family pedigrees are discussed, and when one person takes another's part. In p. 698 we find the Noun knaulage formed from know; it seems here to mean acknowledgment, and the age is not a true French ending, but a confusion of the French form with the Scandinavian leikr, as in kunnleikr. The Southern version, about sixty years later, turns this knaulage into knowleche. There are new phrases, such as, the Lord o mightes (Lord of hosts), p. 1300; side and side, p. 110, like our neck and neck; 'the feild (victoria) beleft with him,' p. 442; 'they sought them don and dale' (high and low), p. 1008; pat tim it was, p. 1341, like Orrmin's an dazz; I ete my fill, p. 210, like the French manger son soul; a tuel-moth stage, p. 424; gaf a scift to, p. 602. whence our made shift to; kin and kyth, p. 734; make his wai, p. 1324; wit wil, p. 832, whence 'do it with a will; 'o preching had he na mak (match), p. 1126; takens pat es na nede all recken, p. 1088. The old pith

¹ Our wreck is seen in King John's Latin Charter of 1200, Stubb's Documents Illustrative of English History, p. 304; in our Bible we read that 'ships were broken.'

(medulla) takes the further meaning of cires, p. 48. We see the phrase mans womb, p. 33; in the South, womb had begun to be restricted to women. We have already heard of Child Horn: in p. 1114 St. Stephen's murderers hand over their clothes to 'a child hight Saulus.' In p. 784 we find beggar used as a term of reproach for the first time; 'this beggar wishes to teach us,' say the Jews. In p. 470 comes the phrase fere (sanus) als a fische, and in p. 682 we find hale sum ani trute; we still have the expression 'sound as a roach.' In p. 1330 fare adds to its old meaning iter the new sense of victus. In p. 704 we see, I think for the first time, an halidai connected with play. In p. 1320 an old phrase is preserved, ful wel is him pat &c. (bona fortuna est illi); this phrase, O well is thee, was inserted in our Praverbook by Coverdale, a Yorkshireman. The Latin Jacobus is Englished by Jacob, at p. 728; but we also hear of Jam at p. 720. The Substantive is sometimes dropped to avoid repetition, as in p. 1232; of three crosses, they knew not which was the Lord's cross and which moght be theves be; here the Substantive crosses is dropped before the last word. In p. 1312 a potter spoils his vessel, and then tries for to mak a hetter.

A new Adjective is formed by adding i to the root, as sunni, p. 1334; this was not understood in the South, and was altered into somer (summer) prefixed to day. Les is added to law, as laules (exlex) in p. 146, the Scandinavian loglauss; there is also unhappi, wili, nede (pauper); new Adjectives are formed by adding ful, to the root, as treuful, woful. The uglike of East Anglia now

becomes uali. Kind had hitherto meant naturalis: in p. 1146 it gets the further sense of benignus; sua kind ar pou is addressed to the Virgin. These two senses lingered on side by side for nearly 400 years, as we see in Milton. The dignfied fus seems to get our modern sense of fussy in p. 18, where it is applied to Martha; in the Southern version it is turned into bisy. Sad seems to lose the old meaning satur, and to get the new sense of fessus, not far from our tristis, when Adam is said to be sad of himself, p. 80; this sad becomes made in the Southern version. The old gemæne kept its sense of communis in the South; in the North, the Icelandic meinn (vilis) was coming in; in p. 762 mene men are opposed to lords; this sense reappears in Manning, the Lincolnshire bard. In p. 282 we hear of redi peniis, whence our ready money; Orrmin's redi, in the sense of jam. is repeated in p. 998. In p. 1100 we hear that the Jews. who were eager to seize the Apostles, war ai curst; the last word, to judge by the context, seems here to get its Shakesperian meaning, crabbed. In p. 70 we read of a ded ass; in p. 226 of a nere cosin; in p. 1288 of dumb bestes; in p. 1080 of a colour that is nute brun: in p. 200 of a mantel of rede. In p. 36 comes the line-

Fra ful hei he fell ful law.

We light on a phrase well known to our balladmakers; in p. 1162 St. John was a ful sari man; here the Adjective might well stand alone. In p. 184 we hear that Esau was archer wit best of an, a most curious idiom that was unknown to the Southern transcriber. In p. 378 the people were war (aware) o Moyses. It is seldom that Adjectives ending in ful form their Comparative like the sorfuller (tristion) of p. 1332.

As to Pronouns: we here first find the greeting mi levedi used to the Virgin; this mi is cut out of the Southern Version; and the term was not applied to an earthly mistress till about 1440. The process first seen in Orrmin goes on; in p. 1146 stands hirs am I; in p. 850 we find ani of urs (any of our people); yours is also used without any Substantive in p. 294; this is repeated in p. 1034, noght wit pair might bot his of heven; the last three words are most terse and concise. In p. 742 Christ is said to fast his Lententide: this Possessive his is still very common in this sense. This his now begins to be used to express the Genitive, as in p. 1220, pe first his greff; not 'the first's greff.' The form pai sai is used in p 1206 for the French on dit. The old distinctive Masculine and Feminine endings of Substantives had mostly gone out; we now light on the cumbrous Scandinavian idiom that was to replace these endings; in p. 44 is the line-

pe bestes all, bath sco and he.

We afterwards hear of a he lambe. Still in p. 590 we read of bairns, ne mai ne knave. It is used in our Indefinite sense; 'all ought to believe, unless it be Saracen or Jew,' p. 1298. We have already seen that there threat; we now find this gilt here, p. 58. We know how in Latin hic and ille are opposed to each other; in p. 1350 the contrast between the righteous and the wicked is drawn out for thirty lines by the employment

of the Scandinavian pir (hi) and the English pai, the old þa (illi). This Yorkshire usage much puzzled the Lancashire and Southern transcribers. The Relative idioms abound: there is an evident imitation of the French li quels (lequel) in gyfe be law, be quilk &c.; and this comes very often in this translation. The Relative is dropped altogether after a Noun, as in our easy way; Loth zee herd me tell of, p. 174; here Loth should be followed by The steward talks, in p. 194, of Isaac, and to him the following Relative refers: at (to) seke a wiif to wam. I fare: this cumbrous construction was unknown earlier. The old hweeper (uter) was unluckily dropping out of use; two children are spoken of in p. 206, and it is asked quilk o bir tua; the rightful hwæber remains in In p. 534 comes the remarkable new our Bible. phrase, he cun knau quilk es quilk (which is which); in the Southern Version this is altered into be ton to knowe be toper fro, for two things are spoken of. We have seen Orrmin's swille an; we now read, in p. 840, quilk o mi gode dedis an? Another idiom of Orrmin's is carried a step further in p. 982; ask quat pou will; this is a great paring down of the old swa hweet swa (quodcunque). There is a new form in p. 1122; priests ought to preach, in als mikel als in paim es; we now drop the first word in: forasmuch was soon to arise in Gloncestershire. There is a new phrase in p. 1210: pat folk ilkan wald oper stemm; in our 'they stopped each other,' each is the Nominative, other the Accusative. An had already been used for man; in p. 1030 we find it coupled with an Adjective, pat so myzty oon; this Northern phrase was used by Wickliffe long afterwards, as, a

zong oon (a young un). In p. 162 we find an allan (one alone); here the one comes twice over. We are amused when we find in Scotch writers, such as Alison. phrases like 'the whole men,' instead of 'all the men.' This is seen in p. 178; he cald his men hale (omnes suos vocavit). In p. 972 we find the old noht turned into a Substantive: it were als a noht. A new idiom is seen in p. 989, seven mule and a half: this would have been expressed earlier, like in German and Scandinavian, by eighth half; and the older idiom lasted down to 1400. In p. 254 a woman wishes to hear a word or tua: here the a plainly stands for an (one). In p. 1302 there is a new Numeral form, which makes an Adjective stronger; 'it was not be tend part sa clere;' in p. 1352 we find, an hundret sith fairer. In the sentence his fuder was ninety and nine, p. 162, there is a remarkable dropping of the old form of ninetynine years, and this is a wholly new use of the Cardinal number. The word score was coming in as a Numeral, Abram was fivescor and nine, p. 160. In p. 1136 we read of a linen cloth four squar, a most concise phrase.

The use of did with the Infinitive, to express the Past tense, is not so common here as it became about 1300. There is a smack of French in the following: 'they told him what tree it suld ha bene (erat),' p. 1234; hence our 'whom should I meet, but &c.,' which stands for 'whom did I meet. 'The Verb mon seems to be changing its meaning from erit to oportet; in p. 276 comes be folk mon dei; in the Southern Version shul deze is substituted, not wil deze. In p. 1342 we see pai sal cun tell

(poterunt dicere); this curious form lasted to about 1500, with the substitution of mow for cun. In p. 1132 there is a translation of peut être, for wel mai be comes in the middle of a sentence. The old idiom had been ic hit eom, but in p. 778 we find pat ilk es I; here, however, the es is perhaps the Danish for the Latin sum, as in Γ se a lad (sum puer). There is a new-born conciseness in the phrase I am and ever sal be hir thrall, p. 1146. Can-not is seen, with its two parts joined, in p. 538. The Participle Absolute had hitherto always been in the Dative, and this lasted down to 1400; but in p. 500 comes, sco laid it be me, and I slepand in bedd. The Past Participle of a certain Verb is now used much like a Preposition, and has held its ground in Scotland; in p. 314 we hear that nothing was left, ute-tan be landes; this is the first hint of our except. There is a French idiom in p. 806, where Wel answard (bien répondu), begins a sentence. A curious idiom with the Infinitive, standing for an exclamation, is seen in p. 890; St. Peter savs. I to leve be bus! hence our 'to think of that!'2 There is a great shortening in the phrase lok zee do pus, p. 160. Became had long stood for factus est; a further advance is made in p. 626, he es bicummen sun. The change from esse to fuisse, after a Verb, has been seen already in the Havelok; in p. 1026 a man comes,

pat semed wel to have ben eremyte.

Wickliffe has the old Ze it ben, that, in St. Luke xvi. 15. Tyndale has here, ye are they, which.

² There is something like this in the Choruses towards the end of Æschylus' Eumenides.

In p. 998 appears the strange idiom we sal yeild Joseph yee sal se; this was not understood in the South. Another instance of a now familiar phrase crops up in p. 746: pis was not he, yee sal tru, or, as we should say, you must know; in the Southern Version it is altered into wite ze wele. In p. 1358 stands 'there are many of us, I drede, that &c.; 'this must have been a peculiarly Yorkshire phrase, for the Lancashire and Southern Versions have altered it. In p. 1058 stands quen we sal haf halden. Orrmin's new form of the Subjunctive mood, which we most likely owe to the French, and which long sounded strange to English ears. In p. 856 Christ says, mi suinc standes me for noght, an unusual form. The old phrase 'man sends for me' was now dropped in the North; it was being replaced by the Passive voice; in p. 806 comes he bat was mast forgiven till; in p. 814, I am send after. This is one of the early instances of the wonderfully free handling that the Passive Voice was to undergo in England; Lord Palmerston wrote in 1848, 'he was offered to be Nuncio at Paris,' (Life, by Ashley, I. 51). In p. 138 comes a double Accusative: he reft pam liif; as we still say, 'he fined him a pound.' We come upon such phrases as, he gaf a batell, to set aboute, he tok hit til hert, she did him to be spilt, he hitte on pam, folk fell to pair lare, they ware mette, pis forsaid Mari, penis suilk als ran (such as were current); yee er made freindes, tak til ur wittnes, the wai takes us, saiand mi bede (my prayer), com to hand, nil we wil we. We must remark in the Cursor Mundi the following, which smack of Scandinavia. 'To give back' (regredi) reminds us that gefa upp means cessare. 'Tok his flight' brings

to mind the phrase taka flótta. 'The dais was runnen ute' (in the South, were al gone, p. 869); we know that the Scandinavian renna was transitive as well as intransitive. 'It fell Petre to call,' reminds us that the Scandinavian fall to means accidere. We find 'to head or hang;' the first Verb is the Scandinavian höfða. The word get adds to its old meaning of adipisci that of ire, something like niman; in p. 456 the marscal is ordered to see that Uriah suld never gette awai. This Yorkshire phrase is often found in the Percival, which belongs to the same date and place. The Scandinavian qeta siameans 'get to see:' here the get means something like venire. Long afterwards, get acquired a third meaning, that of fieri: in our every-day talk, we work this Verb get very hard. The Verb lætan (sinere) takes a fresh meaning, for in p. 1138 a cloth was laten (let down). The Verb bredan had meant fovere; in p. 1202 it means educare, for St. John is there said to have been bred by Christ. The Verb win gets a new sense, pervenire, in p. 1214: this is common in Scotland. In p. 1224 bersten (burst) adds the sense of ruere to its old sense of rumpere. In p. 832 Orrmin's word dwell (morari) is used in the further sense of habitare; this word was to drive out the old Verb won. Spare, in p. 1322, means something beyond parcere; it is aliis præbere; this is something like one of the Scandinavian senses of the word. The old reafian (rapere) gets the further meaning of trahere; in p. 1006 stands he es reft awai; the French ravist is used in the same sense; it comes a few lines lower down; the one word may have influenced the other. In p. 1016 a man is bidand (expectans) to se; this Infinitive after bidand was not understood by the compilers of the three other versions. In p. 1066 un is prefixed to a Participle, undeiand (undying). In p. 1084 we find to muth a language; this new word for logui (it is the Scandinavian muola) was not understood in the South. In p. 64 pu gafe (dedisti) is corrupted into pou gafs; we have seen this change before. In p. 74 cnaven (notum) is turned into knaud, which may still sometimes be heard. In p. 114 a French Verb takes a Strong Perfect in English, a thing almost unheard of; we hear that the rain ne fane (fined not, non cessavit); the Scotch verdict, not proven, is in our days the nearest approach to this Strong form. So common had the use of ye for tu become in the North that it influenced the Imperative mood; in p. 270 is nai, sir, tas noght &c. (ne capias). The Verb is sometimes dropped for the sake of avoiding repetitions, as in p. 1140, 'Cornelius fears the Lord, na man more.' The Passive Participle stude (constitutus) comes over and over again in this work; in p. 90 it is written staid; perhaps our Verb stay may come from this, as well as from the French estaier. In p. 1360 comes par es na mending pe stat. This is a further development of the Transitive Verbal Noun; the Accusative now comes after it, not before it, as in bearn-cennung. In p. 1344 the new Noun being is formed from be, to express essentia.

Among Adverbs, we find forqui put into the middle of a sentence, just before a reason is given, p. 92; hence the cos why that we so often hear. We have now an expression, 'it is the best thing out;' this may be seen

in p. 98, he sin bat ban was ute (in being). In p. 830. each man holds his office. his tuelvemoth ute. This last word supplies the loss of the old purh formerly prefixed to Verbs: haf uee be dais al fasten ute? p. 380. We see in p. 728, the first hint of the Irish at all at all (omnino); fless he ne ete of al and al: this is the Scotch ava. Scandinavian of allt means, 'in every respect,' The poet is fond of dropping the ne that should come before but: folk wil but foli do, p. 108; the but was now Englishing tantum, as we saw much earlier. form of this, whence comes the Yorkshire nobbut, is found in p. 1216; pat was noght bot for to fle; in the other Versions, for comes before the noght. The old als lang sai (swa) 'as long as,' appears in p. 1170: but the other Versions have altered it into to-quiles and whil. We use as for pretty often now; it is seen in p. 156, I might hald it als for mine. In p. 196 the Adverbial ending is fastened on to the Active Participle: sittandlik, which in the Southern Version is altered into sittyngly. In p. 330 comes sin quen (since when) in a question; and fra bis time forth is in p. 240. Behind is used in a wholly new sense, that of deficiens; a man es behind for povert, p. 352; as we say, 'he is behind with his money.' The old beæftan (post) is now changed into o baft, our sailors' abaft. The away was used to express intensity; he dried away (tabescebat) p. 690. We have seen hal in the sense of integer; a new Adverb is now formed from this, to replace the lost eallunga; he sal be hali given is in p. 502; the Southern Version puts hool for this new hali, our wholly. Still comes again in the Northern sense of

toujours, p. 742. We find contra Englished by on oper side, p. 748; this is of a woman balancing arguments. An Adverb might be compounded by simply adding i to a Noun, as develi, p. 824; we use now the more cumbrous diabolically; there is also folili (stultè) page 1332. In p. 824 we hear of a person being sa mighti meke, whence comes Pepys' mighty merry; swipe (valdè) was now unhappily going out. In p. 830 we have the first hint of our doing things turn about.

Biscops war pai pan abute, Ilkan bot his tuelvemoth ute.

The confusion between Adjectives and Adverbs is very plain; a house is commli dight, p. 870. In p. 1054, a man is said to be ungodli (inhonestè) gert. The Danish sum is used for the English swa or as; in p. 936 is the phrase sa feir se sum I can (as far as I can see). In p. 1336 comes the new form hu sum ever (how so ever). In p. 1028 comes, he may gete hit no wayes; the last word stands for the old wise. We find phrases like fra ferr and ner, go wrong, negli at hand, par apon, herefterward. In p. 402 is a wholly new adverbial form, quen pat pai yede; a similar High German form is found. By the side of the old sobli, a new word for verè crops up; in p. 284 comes, I yow sai truli; this in the Southern Version is altered into witterly. To this day our true will English both fidus and verus; sooth has almost wholly dropped out of sight. A true man (not a thief) keeps the old sense honestus; so we have had to invent truthful, to express another shade of meaning. The word namli had hitherto meant præcipuè; it is now made to represent the Norse nefniliga, (by name, expressly); we see in p. 1094 pa Saduceis,—namli pat lede &c., (videlicet).

The Preposition of is used in new senses; it smelles o piement, p. 218; pay had might o pam selven, p. 206; hence Pope's mistress of herself; Adam waxed sad (fessus) of himself, p. 80; we mak urfa of ur freind, p. 1076. In p. 1304 comes the eild (age) o thritte yere. We have already seen to miss of a thing; we now find, p. 682, to fail of ur art; this is strange, as the French faillir was not followed by de. This of is prefixed to Verbal Nouns; St. Paul is called a wessele o mi chesing in p. 1126. to at, we come upon at ese, p. 112; at an acord, p. 1344: at pair talking pam tenid sare (irati sunt), p. 1094. is not far removed from at; we here find, it lay to hand, p. 148; bete him to be blod, p. 926; kest of al to his serk (shirt), p. 1232. In p. 1104 comes mani seke (sick) unto pam soght; this foreshadows our version of Deuteronomy xii. 5; 'unto the place shall ye seek.' The Icelandic sækia til means 'have recourse to.' We see the that dropped after a Preposition in p. 164; pou sal have barn bi I cum. A new phrase is used to express intention; something is done, 'bi wai to do pe for to se,' p. 1128. With is much used; wit quam it es noght at ham, p. 252; mad an wit his godd-hed, p. 1076; he tok his hin (lodging) wit Nichodeme, p.1012; wit pi leve, p. 984; quat yee will wit me, p.1140; the French must have had much influence The up is used in the Scandinavian way, to intensify a Verb, as be folk mon dei up, p. 276, like our follow up, use up; though we may also say kill down. A new phrase comes in p. 426; seven suns in all. On, as

usual, marks hostility; dome es given on us, p. 954; it also marks a state of future activity; the Apostles bigan to fal apon a gret (fletus), p. 890; Defoe would have written it, 'to fall a weeping,' an idiom which lasted to 1790. The French idiom pour (quod attinet ad), already seen in the St. Katherine, is repeated; he sal for me be bunden; the Southern transcriber was puzzled by the newfangled idiom (which is also the Scandinavian fyrir mer) and wrote bifore me. The Dorsetshire in stede is now made one word, in-sted o, p. 74. Two Prepositions are coupled, in the phrase, 'he took them to beside the cross,' p. 1246.

In p. 818, we see or used as it often is in poetry now; it is prefixed to two different Nouns in one sentence; qua trous in me, or man or wif, pai sal &c.

There are here many new Interjections, derived from the French, that have taken root in our tongue. It is this class of words that the poorer classes are most apt to copy from their betters; French Interjections are easily pronounced, and give a supposed air of refinement to everyday talk. In p. 248 comes ha! quat paa bestes war kene! it is plain that the two first words of the French original must have been ha que. In p. 286 comes ha, ha. traiturs! in p. 682, this is, Aha, traiturs! Herod, who utters this in his torment, deals in much hearty French abuse, like fiz aputains. In p. 696, they all cry ho! a Scandinavian Interjection. In p. 256 is Gold forbedd I suld him suike! this became afterwards so idiomatic that it was used to English the μη γένοιτο of the Greek Testament. In p. 1288 stands A Laverd! at the beginning of a sentence, just as Pepys uses Lord! when he is

astonished at anything. In p. 34 comes herk (hark) for the first time; it is addressed to a mob. A new phrase is in p. 242; lo quar pe dremer es cummen, where lo is followed by an Adverb. Our why is here used simply as an expletive; in p. 222 comes wi, quatkin consail mai I pe give? In p. 1186 stands allas, for schame! here the for must stand for the Latin ob; we now use the Interjection for shame! without the alas, which governed it.

Some English words are further developed: thus from the old crumb (curvus) is formed crumpled, p. 466; grub,1 a new form of the old grafan (fodere) is seen in p. 390. The Verb swedel (swaddle) is first seen in p. 644, coming from the old Noun swepel (fascia). We hear of a snau drif for the first time in p. 570; and of a scott (a shot, missile) in p. 576; this last is Scandinavian. In p. 532 comes to-name (agnomen), a strange form common to both Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. The cove (specus) of the Lindisfarne Gospels is repeated in p. 666. Some puzzling words are now for the first time found; such as bad (malus), lass (puella), balled (calvus), midwife, which is said to mean 'a woman who comes for meed.' In p. 28, a thing is said to be done faster than eye may wink; we should now say, 'it was done like winking.'

. There are some English words here common to the Dutch and German; such as duken (mergere), lump, creul (serpere), poke (trudere), blow (plaga), lazas

¹ Locke tells us that *gruff* was the Mendip miners' name for a pit. See his *Life*, by Mr. Fox Bourne, I. 125.

(ligula), p. 908, our lash, were (vapor), our whiff, p. 1310.

The Scandinavian words found here are, bark (cortex), scour, spar, squeal, dump (tundere), cleft, fell (mons), grovelings, p. 674, aslant, harsk (harsh), skirt, scall, stem (sistere), slight, smile, trump (tuba), fou (stultus), our fond. The Scandinavian quimuor gives birth to yoman, p. 184; it is here evidently used for 'an able-bodied man,' and we still talk of 'doing yeoman's service.' The word often appears as yeman in later times. There are a few words of this kind, still found here lingering in Scotland, as stot (buculus), qley (limis oculis spectare). A kirk is said to scale (disperse); this word, found in the Cursor, is the Danish verb skille. Our phrase, 'I have no time,' comes, not from the Old English word, but from the Scandinavian tom (otium), as seen in p. 130. The Old English sceapend (creator) now makes way for the Scandinavian scaper (shaper), p. 740. Sculk now means abdere and not tabescere, as in the Northern Psalter. Bi (oppidum) in p. 868 shows whence come our bue-laws.

The Celtic words crag and bran are found in p. 568 and p. 888. Bul stands for mistake in p. 1218; this noun does not appear again, I think, until Milton used it in his 'Apology for Smeetymnuus.'

To Yorkshire belong the Percival and the Isumbras ('Thornton Romances,' Camden Society); they seem to have been compiled about 1290; they have much in common with the Cursor Mundi; such phrases as give away, stot, pith (vires), zoman, overpasse, serve (tractare),

come once more. The Vowel-change is seen as usual in the North; gât (capra) is seen as gayte; and this sound is preserved in Gateshead (caput capræ); there is also mere (equa); u often replaces o, as gude for gode, luke for loke; we see the thoroughly Northern louse (solvere) for the old losian, p. 72; in Scotland the change is in our time carried a step further, and the word is there pronounced like the German laus.

As to Consonants: we see how knawlage (this came in the Cursor) was pronounced, in p. 41; the g was sounded hard, for the word rimes with make, take, blake; the ending, in spite of its form, was more akin to the Teutonic lac, as in wedlac, than to the Romance damage. The former swiftliker (citius) loses its k and becomes swiftliere; I see that some of our best modern writers are now reviving these Comparative Adverbs, and are disusing the cumbrous more swiftly. The letter m is inserted, for midlest becomes medilmaste, p. 96.

Among Substantives, we find the old Plural gode (bona) turned into gudez, our goods; folkes are used for men, p. 45, and bodys have the same meaning, p. 44; hence comes our somebody, nobody, &c. This use of body appeared in Gloucestershire about the same time. In those days, knights won their schone (shoes), not their spurs, p. 61. In p. 77 we hear that a club's head was twelve stone weghte, the first instance of this measure. The phrase a sevenyght long (p. 84) was coming into use. Verbal Nouns are mainly due to the North; they are found in the Plural, as sygheyngez (suspiria), p. 90. The word top was already used, in composition with other nouns, as a sea term; the toppe-castelles of a ship

are mentioned in p. 97. Score is used as a plural noun in p. 44; ellevene score of mene.

As to Adjectives: we hear of the thikkeste of the prese, p. 44. In p. 51 comes a sadde stroke; the sad had taken the sense of gravis, besides that of satur; in the North they still talk of sad cake. In p. 92 stands the phrase 'alle als nakede als they were borne.'

The Adverb right was encroaching on the old swipe, as is plainly seen in the Percival; a new sense of the word is in p. 31, where a man is cast reghte in the fyre. The Northern sense of still is perhaps found in p. 18; it is hard to say whether tranquille or toujours would be the right translation here; unmoved is the connecting link between these two senses. Even had hitherto meant æquè; being confused with the Scandinavian jafnt, it here takes the further meaning of rectè, much as we now use just; the latter indeed actually appears in p. 11. In p. 45 is evene over hym he rade; in p. 46, tille it was evene at daye lighte; in p. 66, he hitt hym evene on the nekk-bane; we should now substitute just for even, though we still say even so, and the e'en is common in Scotland. The Superlative innemeste had always existed; we now find a new Comparative innermare, p. 48. Two Interrogatives are coupled in p. 81: he asked wherefore and why he banned. In p. 114 comes ones appone a daye; the once here stands for olim, as in Orrmin: not for semel.

Among the Pronouns, we remark the Yorkshire scho (illa); thase (illi), which we saw in the Northern Psalter, is repeated in p. 50; yon, standing by itself, is sometimes used for the thase or those; a usage found also

in the Cursor and still kept in the North. The old meaning of hwylc (qualis) was now dropped in Yorkshire, though not in the South; in p. 8 we see the word's place supplied by what manere of thyng may this bee? Cumbrous indeed is our version of St. Luke vii. 39, 'know who and what manner of woman;' this we took from Wickliffe; the translation, 400 years before him, was 'hwæt and hwylc' &c. In p. 61 we see ane employed to save the repetition of a previous Noun; 'if I be not yet knight, make me ane;' this idiom was now coming in. We know our curious phrase 'a jewel of a man,' which seems to be French; the earliest instance of this that I know is in p. 75; the stalworthest geant of one, where one must stand for man.

There is much to remark in the Verbs: the disuse of the Indicative is, also found in the Northern Psalter, is carried further; what may this bee, p. 8. The Imperfect and Pluperfect tenses of the Subjunctive are oddly coupled together in p. 15; he wened all other horsex were (mares), and hade bene callede soo. He hade a father to be slayne, p. 23, is a continuation of one of Orrmin's idioms. The get, as in the Cursor, has come to mean venire; he getis nere, p. 85; more of the old meaning lingers in he get out (extraxit) hys swerde, p. 79; in p. 29 is he couthe not gett of (exuere) the armour. The new sense of do is seen in p. 53; with alle that folke hade he done (finished). We see the Northern phrases, fall to thaire fude, p. 51; hold on his way, p. 84;

^{&#}x27; Herodotus, in one of his earliest chapters, talks about 'a great thing of a boar.'

wyne (pervenire) tille towne, p. 95, a phrase that lingers in Scotland; whate es your wille with me? p. 107. The Old English wegan (weigh) was transitive, but its Scandinavian sister might be intransitive; so, in p. 77, we find the clobe wheyhed reghte wele.

We still use the Old English for all this, where for translates the French malgré; in p. 34 comes, for oughte that may betide, I will &c. The terseness of the future New English comes out in p. 8; agayne hir sone zode; that is, 'against the time that her son could walk;' the Prepositions ere and for had been treated in this way in the foregoing Century.

There is a curious combination, in p. 95, of the Midland to or til and the Northern whil, each of them meaning jusqu'à ce que; be stille, to whils I feche, &c.

Among the Interjections are Peter! Lorde! A. dere God! How! and the old-established What! A curious new idiom is in p. 14, 'that ever solde I dry sorowe!' before this time, eula or some such word must have stood at the head of this sentence.

A new word is seen in *stremour* (vexillum); there is also *clowte* (ictus), akin to the Dutch *klotsen*; *crokede*, which Englishes *curvus*, is the Scandinavian *krókóttr*: *bait* had been used in connexion with the *bear* in the Havelok; it now means simply to feed, p. 8.

About 1295 many Lives of Saints were translated, almost certainly by Robert of Gloucester, whose rimes are in the same dialect. Anything connected with the language of this shire is of interest, when we remember that Tyndale was born there, not quite two hundred years later. The Lives of St. Thomas (Becket) and

'St. Brandan,' have been printed by the Percy Society; many others of the Lives we owe to Mr. Furnivall (Philological Society). I shall hereafter call attention to the French idioms, which abound.

In Becket's Life, the Vowel a replaces e; berewe (vectula) becomes barewe (barrow), p. 44. We follow the at of this piece, rather than the Eastern et, in our Perfect for eat. The old ideled is now shortened into ideld, our dealt. The au, so common in French words, is used for the broad a in Teutonic words; in p. 76, haul is written for hale (trahere), and we still keep both forms; though they no longer have one common sound, as in 1300. The name Salesbury, the first Vowel of which we pronounce like haul, is seen in p. 18; the proper name. as usual, keeping somewhat of the old sound of a. Willam of earlier times now becomes Williem, p. 25, just as willan and willian (optare) might both be written. The author has a practice of inserting i before another vowel, and also of turning eu into ue; he has induced us to write Tuesday, p. 57, instead of the rightful Teusday or Tiwesday; he has nue (novus), thue (servus), and many such. The u or w is thrown out altogether in ho (quis), not far from our hoo, as we now pronounce the word. In p. 75, the English uneap gets confused with the French aise, and unese (difficilis) is the upshot. We see how our pronunciation of the fourth day in the week arose, when we find Wendesdai in p. 57. Our way of handling the Genitive of a Noun that ends in s is foreshadowed in p. 19; (he did) Thomas heste (Thomæ jussum): there is also Thomas men, p. 43. The r and the n are both inserted in one word, for the

old Sempigaham becomes Sympringham, p. 55. The r and l interchange, when Sarum or Sarisbury becomes Salesbury; Bishop Jewel long afterwards used the r, in writing the name of his diocese. The Teutonic blench is now confounded with the French flechier; we see in this piece blench, blinch, and flecchi; we may now use either blench or flinch.

As to Substantives: we see now and then a change in the form of words. In the Tristrem, bond had meant servus; in this new piece, p. 27, the word becomes bonde man with the same meaning. In other shires, as in the country near Rutland, bondeman still bore the old sense of colonus and nothing more. In p. 34, the word end (finis) gets a new meaning, that of purpose. In p. 49, is the adjuration merci, for Godes love! that is, 'for love towards God,' as we see by a like passage in p. 2. Here also is found, heo set hire tyme, 'she saw her time,' that is, opportunity.

The Adjective seli continues to unite to its old sense (beatus) just the contrary sense infelix, or our poor, as in the Havelok. Henry II. when attacked by his sons, is called a seli olde man. In p. 94 the word may bear either meaning. We see for the first time in p. 3 the Superlative Adjective employed like a Substantive; hi dude here best (they did their best).

Among Pronouns, the old he hwa (quisquis) of 1220, is changed into he that; he that susteneth lawes, haveth the sinne, p. 84. The as (as in St. Juliana) is used as a Relative; in p. 5 comes thulke hous as he was inne ibore; again in p. 39, ynouz as to thulke daye (quod spectat ad). When we see the phrase (p. 43), som (unus) is that

wole telle, we perceive how the old al and sum answers to our one and all. We find a new phrase for the Latin non is qui; he nas nozt the man that wolde &c. p. 111. In p. 95 comes six zer and a month; an had split into two forms; and of these we should have expected one, not a, here. The Old English form of expressing time, nu wees twa gear, is changed (an imitation of the French) into this was tene zer after that &c. p. 95. We can understand how our 'a fortnight' sprang up, much earlier, when in p. 123 we find an eizte dayes. In p. 98 comes the tueye of hem, (the pair of them); here the Numeral seems to stand for a Noun.

Among the Verbs are found phrases like breke prisoun, cry him milce (mercy), set hond on (attack), set sames (the appointed Psalms, p. 54), his hurte him zaf that, p. 60; we can now only say, 'his heart misgave him that.' There are also hit falth to the (te decet); take on (procedere, p. 69), nom an honde (suscepit, p. 4) heo com of gentyl blod, hold thi mouth, the sonne (sun) is overcast. In p. 98 comes a phrase common enough among us now, but which is an evident translation of the French vous savez; Archebischop ich am, ze wite, as wel as he; our you know is in our time a never-ending expletive. In p. 113 we hear that the monks woke a corpse; this is a rare instance of a Weak Verb taking a Strong Perfect; it is put here for the sake of the rime.

As to Adverbs: we see forasmoche as, an Englishing of pour autant que; pu mizt as wel beo stille, p. 49; hou hit ever bifalle, p. 79, hence our shortened however. A new Adverb is formed from brad (this survives in Bradford), abrod (latè); abrod (foris) came from the Scan-

dinavian; 'to noise abroad,' and 'to travel abroad,' mean very different things. It is seldom that we compound a with an Adjective in this fashion; with Substantives it is different. The first hint of our 'follow up' is in p. 18: the friends of a murdered man suede up him (the murderer); this up began now to be often tacked on to Verbs; it is a Scandinavian usage.

As to Prepositions: the to is employed as in the French déferer à; stonde to al that holi churche wolde, p. 28. Another French idiom is, aryved at Sandwych, p. 95; nothing can show more forcibly how plainly the French à (ad) and the English at are but two forms of one old word. In p. 63 is, the Kinges men were at him; a new phrase marking hostility.

A word, common to us and the Dutch, is found in p. 5; Becket's mother, wandering about London and unable to speak English, is called 'a mopisch best.'

In the Life of St. Brandan, we see herfest (messis) become harvest, which stands for what we now call Autumn. In p. 22, we hear of bulies blowing; can our bully come from this? It is the Western form of bælg, bellows. An is pared down to a, for a Godes name often comes. We see fur ire (fire iron), p. 30; fishes, p. 21, are said to float at one hepe (in a mass); hence our 'struck all of a heap.' In p. 30 we hear of an otter's hynder fet and his forthere fet, (fore-feet,) expressions altogether new. In p. 24, a mountain is said to burn stronge.

In Mr. Furnivall's Lives of the Saints, we may

remark the disappearance of the e in be before a Vowel, as peir (the air); Caxton was fond of this usage. words wrappe (ira) and wrop (iratus) are distinguished in p. 98. The old Sumersete is now written Somersete, p. 49, where many other counties are mentioned. Wiltoneschire, Slobschire, and Dunholme of 1260 now become Wilteschire, Schropschyre, and Durham. The Kaiser of the Ancren Riwle is written Cezar, p. 113; the former term was confined to the office, the latter to the family name; the c must have been in the second instance taken from the French original of this poem. The n is inserted, when *lŷtinge* (fulgur) is seen as listninge, in p. 117. The b is cast out, for clemde is written for climbed, in p. 51. The n at the end is clipped, for we find gredire (gridiron), p. 65; the old gescoten is pared down to schet, our Participle shot, p. 118. Scrin now becomes schrin, p. 47.

Among the Substantives, we see one English word encroaching upon its synonym in p. 80:

'In anoper half of pe churche, al in poper side.'

The former of these Nouns was soon to drop in this sense. The old Plural of cu (vacca), cy, is still used in the North; but we find a new Plural of the true Southern pattern in p. 53, kyn; a third Plural, cows, was yet to come; all three Plurals are still used in our island; this instance, I think, is something quite by itself. It may be, that men thought they might talk of kine, since they already used the Plural swine. There is another most pronounced Southern form, eirmonger (egg-monger), in p. 45; Caxton's tale about eir and

eggs, nearly two hundred years later, is well known. There is the noun mase (error), p. 107; and the expressions swete hurte (sweetheart), p. 51; find his macche, p. 59; menie a moder child (mother's son), p. 104. In p. 83 comes gode wuf, addressed to a woman; nothing now more enrages a female in the witness-box than to be addressed by the opposing counsel as 'my good woman.' In p. 95 St. Katherine addresses a most bloodthirsty tyrant as gode man, something like our 'my good fellow.' In p. 71 we hear of gode men and true; here true bears the meaning of honestus as in the Peterborough Chronicle; a true man is opposed to a thief. In p. 63, we first light on our gastliche (ghastly); this word, unlike ghostly, has never changed its first vowel, and comes from agasten (terrere). In p. 94 is God almixtie-es spouse: so confused had our inflexions now become, that the Adjective, and not the Substantive, here takes a Genitive form.

There are such new phrases as the list was oute; he makede moche of gode reule, p. 35¹; moche azen his wille; his fader were betere habbe, &c., p. 109; like Shakespere's 'you were best go,' where the Pronoun is in the Dative. In p. 53 comes be valey perdoune; we should now say 'down there.'

As to Pronouns: the sharp distinction between pu and ze, made in Lincolnshire about this time, had not yet found its way to the Severn; in p. 59 and in p. 91 a superior uses both pu and zoure in one line, when addressing an inferior. The Virgin tells the Devil,

¹ This phrase comes in Tyndale's version of St. Luke, vii. 2.

'thou beast, your power is too great,' p. 59. In p. 114 sum on replaces the old sum man. In p. 80 we hear that no rain fell, to disturb a manes mod; here man, with the Indefinite Article prefixed, stands for aliquis; this is something new. In p. 50 comes, no pe wors him nas; we should now say, 'he was not the worse,' altering the case.

As to Verbs: we see find out, hou gop pis? makede hire mid childe, hou schal ic do (valere), p. 97; hence our how do you do?' In p. 105 the phrase it be is used as a kind of expansion of etsi; summe pez hit beo fewe. The Verb swear, when used of a future event, governs an Accusative, his dep he hadde iswore, p. 116; we also find in p. 51, bispeke his dep, a new sense of this Verb. We know Porson's clever but unfair lines, beginning,

The Germans in Greek Are sadly to seek.

In p. 78 we hear of the Devil, noping to siche (seek) he nas (non defuit). Our phrase 'cast up accounts' is foreshadowed in p. 77, caste his numbre. In the same line draw gets a new meaning, 'draw figures;' this is a Scandinavian sense of draw. When St. Dunstan was enraptured in p. 39, he sat as he were ynome; this is the first hint of our modern numb, coming from the old niman (capere).

Among Prepositions, we find, take ensample bi, take God to witness, for nought, no love bituene hem, hi were

upe (upon) him.

In p. 83 the old â, slightly changed, begins to be

used as an Affirmative; a question is asked, and the answer is aze, sire (aye). Our ugh of disgust is seen as ou in p. 115.

We find wrick, our wriggle, in p. 36; it is akin to a Dutch word. Shakespere talks of pashed corpses; this comes from the Scandinavian pask, found in p. 98.

In Seyn Julian, (published by the Early English Text Society), we see marw (medulla), strupe her naked, make he signe of he crois, and tresses.

The Life of St. Margaret was published by the Early English Text Society; the version of the year 1295 may be found in p. 24, a wonderful contrast to the version put forth ninety years earlier. We find in p. 25 schip (oves); in p. 27 is chus (elige), and in p. 28 rupe (misericordia), just as we now pronounce these three words. In p. 29 is atom (domi), just as we now slur over the h of the second word; the Scandinavians said at húsi. In p. 32 comes astoned, long afterwards inserted by Tyndale in the Bible; it is a compound of the English astundian and the French estonner. In p. 30 the French cacche becomes catche, with the t in the middle. The proper name Laurenz, in p. 24, follows the French and not the Latin form; the name Stevene does just the reverse. We see the phrase, the blod ran bi stremes; this is a new meaning attached to bi. The use of the of in phrases like of age is further extended; in p. 29 comes a man of mi strengee. Do, attached to another Verb, was becoming very common; as bu dost lede (ducis).

From the same Manuscript comes a Treatise on Science, published by Mr. Wright, p. 132. $H\hat{a}r$ (canus)

becomes hor (hoar); f replaces h in purf (per), as it did before in boh, bof. We see, in p. 138, a seeming preference of French to English endings; swearer and waker become sweriere and wakiere. Robert of Gloucester, the probable author of this treatise, has bowiar (bowyer) in his Chronicle; this Gloucestershire crotchet comes out again in Tyndale, who sometimes writes lawear (lawyer); Chancer has man of law. The Western Poet speaks of his forehead as his for-top, p. 137; our seamen use the word in another sense. In p. 139, the phrase comes wipinne fourti dayes and in lasse; here the Substantive is not repeated after lasse, an instance of English conciseness. In p. 140 the soul gop to gode, that is, 'to heaven;' here the Adjective stands for a Substantive. On the other hand, souls may beo in libere weye (be in a bad way), p. 140; this is an early instance of a phrase common now. We know Pope's line ending with all that, meaning 'all such things;' this is foreshadowed in p. 133; many vices are named, and we are told that a good man may cleanse himself of alle bulke. Tyndale has often put in our Bible the corrupt shined (micavit) as well as the rightful shone; schunde is seen in p. 133. The Verb begin is followed by an Accusative in p. 132; ich wole bigynne pe names. We find buttok, akin to the Dutch bout, and slab of ire (massa), which has puzzled the wise.

We now turn to Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, published by Hearne. We may safely call it a translation from the French, when we see such forms as the March (Mercia), Picards (Picts), Daneis (Danes), pe Londreis (Londoners), Pountfreit (Pontefract, Pomfret),

p. 505; Hubert de Burgh is altered into Hubert de Boru. p. 523. The French par (where ab would have been used in Latin for the agent) is Englished by poru in p. 271. The original author had to explain in two long lines the meaning of the old word Apelyng, as applied to Edgar, p. 354. Homage is quite wrongly turned into manhede, not manrede, p. 421. The poor translation, syxte for vision, is seen in p. 355. It is in this poem that we first find the habit of opposing the word Saxons to Normans, p. 363, though after all English, not Saxons, is the usual phrase employed. The Saxons and the Englysse both alike wage war on the Britons in p. 225. As to Englisch (lingua Anglica), we are told in p. 125, that he Saxones speche it was, and porw hem yeome yt ys; just what King Alfred says, if we would only believe him.

The letter a replaces e in the proper name Zarnemoupe, Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, p. 164, though the old spelling is kept in p. 227; a replaces æ, for æmete (emmet) becomes amet, our ant (formica); there are also gras and brak, as in Layamon. Au is found in aul, which is no longer written awel or âl; we find both Mold and Maud, the short of Matilda. The e replaces y, as in Welsse (Welsh) for Wylise; gle stands for gleow (gaudium). The i or y comes in often; at p. 370 we see the proper name Cecyly, which we now call either Cicely or Cecil. The y or i slips in before Vowels in Tentonic words, as we saw in the Legends of the Saints; in p. 416 comes the Verbal Noun bodyynge, our boding; in p. 541 is bowiar, our bowyer; we need not derive this ending from the French; it is one of the Severn country

The o often supplants u, as in Layamon's Second Text; it stands for e in worrede (pugnavit); there is also con for ken (scit), p. 364; hence 'to con a lesson; ' o stands for eo, as ssoppe (shop) for sceoppa, p. 541; it stands for au, as Morisse for Maurice, p. 516. The u supplants i, as in Wurcester; we still keep the old sound of the u in this proper name; Paul is written Poul. We see the curious compromise between the Southern u and Northern y or i that makes us write guild. build, and such words; in this Poem we have fugr (ignis), pruyd (superbia), and Bruyt (Brute). This usage was continued by the author of Piers Ploughman, another Western writer. Hugo is now written Hue, the ue standing for eu; a proof how fondly England clung to her old sound eow, the French iou. In p. 116 Layamon's pwong is pared down to pong.

As to Consonants: the f or v is cast out of æfen (vesper), which is seen as ene in p. 394, Holy Thore's ene. We see the old targynge in p. 207, and the new tarie (morari) in p. 109; Tyndale was fond of this word. The g is moreover thrown out in neyde (neighed) from the old hnægan, and in nintene, where the first syllable has replaced nigon. The h is cut away from the old toh, which is now written tou (tough), p. 175; the South no longer pronounced the guttural at the end of words. The old maca (socius) becomes mate, p. 536, just as we find both condicio and conditio in Old Latin; the relationship of tunnulus and cumulus is well known. The p is dropped in the middle of Norpwic, which now becomes Norwiche; forpweard is seen as forward, p. 17, and it may, in our days, be often heard

pronounced forrad. The name we now call Ethelbert is seen as Eulbryt, p. 238. The interchange between l and d is seen in p. 447, where the Cardoil of p. 4 is written Carloul. The l is sometimes cast out, for pilk (iste) and Walter become pike, p. 27, and Water, p. 553. The final n has been clipped in true Southern fashion in aze(iterum), p. 548; on the other hand, preatep (minatur) is first seen as pretuep, p. 457. In Proper Names, we had begun to follow French rather than Latin; Sergius is pared down to Sergy, p. 255. We also see Jude, Nel (Niel), Gemes (James, p. 534), George, Barnabe, Umfray. King Richard's enemy was Duke of Ostrich, not Austria. There are forms of English places as yet new to English poetry, as Roucestre, Exetre, Bristowe, Hamptschire, Glastynbury. Nothyngam has lost the s, which used to stand before her first n; this alteration may be seen in Latin Charters of the foregoing Century. Grauntebriqge becomes Cambrugge, p. 6, though the old form lasted a hundred years longer. In p. 44 the Poet explains why Lude's town is now slightly changed; me clepel it London, bat us lyster in he moup. These last six words give a clue to the reason of the alterations in many an English word. Armorica is called pe lasse Bretegne, p. 95, and is held by Britones. The old Burh becomes Petresboru, p. 283. We hear of Dyvyses (Devizes), p. 448; in p. 523 this becomes The Vise. The old Eadqup, which had already been much mangled in Domesday Book, is written Edype, p. 331. A man named Hobekin was hanged not long before the battle of Lewes, p. 544; Halbert must have been very early pared down to Hob. All Saints' Church in Oxford is called Alle Halwen, p. 541; this old Genitive Plural,

a Southern corruption of halgana (sanctorum), lives in Halloween, as already remarked.

In Nouns, we find the Old English construction of time dropped, which prescribed Augustus monde; it is now be monthe of Jun, p. 410; something akin to this is be urt of lechecraft, p. 150. In the first page of the poem we see that the word England, which used to be Neuter, has become Masculine; we now make it The noun hastinesse is formed from the Feminine. verb. p. 109. The well-known legend about Rowena is set out in p. 118; and we here find the Substantive wassaul, formed from was hal (esto salvus); we have already seen to wassail in the Havelok. Robert tells us that this cry became so popular, that it was not forgotten in his day; men thought more of drink than of an holi prechoures Sceoppa had meant treasury; it now becomes ssoppe, shop in the sense so well known to us, p. 541. A new word, reverye (rapina), is formed in p. 193, simply to suit the rime; it was not to be long-lived. We hear of pe hondred, p. 267, as a part of the shire; also, of a wolpack. In p. 407, the Christian host comes on myd gode ernest. Arm is used for an inlet of the sea, p. 2; in p. 16 game is used, not for ludus, but as a synonym of the beasts killed for sport. Rout is used for turba in p. 17. Dole, p. 165, no longer means pars, but a distribution of alms; to dole out money and to deal cards are two prongs coming from one old Verb; here the Southern Dialect has given us a new form. Riht now gets the sense of claim; nadde non rygt perto is in p. 359. We used to hear much of O'Connell's tail; the word, applied in this sense to King Knout and his men, is seen in p. 305. In p. 266, King Alfred learns the alphabet; he coupe ys abece, a phrase used by Tyndale later. There are such phrases as hente (take) herte; oute of hom and hous, p. 375; these nouns we now transpose; fot fole (infantry); smoke is puffed against the heathen ryst in her owe (their own) tep, p. 407. In p. 541 comes a phrase dear to Tyndale, men were atte mete (at meat). In p. 555, Sir Edward grants a garrison lif and lime. A mortel wound is translated depes wonde in p. 49; Lord Macaulay, in his Lays, called it a death wound.

Among Adjectives, we find lere (vacuus), p. 81; it is curious that this old word should have died out of England, except in the South West, after 1310; it may still be heard in the mouths of Somersetshire peasants. In p. 119 a sely wenche is opposed to a holi prechour; sely here may perhaps bear the new meaning stultus. In p. 95 comes an sixti pousand gode; we should now make good the second word. In p. 393, a Prince borrows a huge sum of money, and pat was somdel starc, like our coming it strong.' In p. 430 a girl is described as a ten zer old, a wholly new phrase. Bold pe more comes in p. 566, because pe bolder would not suit the rime.

As to Pronouns: yt refers to a Masculine Antecedent in p. 411; a Prince thinks it too much trouble to be King, and sayde pat he nolde be yt nost. In p. 420 comes, 'he was pulke pat;' this Southern pulke (that one) is convenient here, as preventing pat coming twice over. In p. 409, the Crusaders helde her Ester (kept their Easter), a new sense of the Pronoun. In p. 435 some tyme is used where we should say 'once upon a time;' the sum and an were synonyms of old. In p. 561 comes

mani an oper, a new form. In p. 532 we read of muche fole; the phrase much people is kept in our Bible. In p. 509, we see nozt for nozt; here the first stands for our not, the last for our nought; the old word had elsewhere been split into two different forms, as two shades of meaning had now to be represented. In p. 449 comes 'they knew not wat to do;' the French que faire is preferred to the Old English idiom of the Subjunctive mood. A new French fashion of dating time comes in; we see in p. 363 the phrase: in pe zere of Grace a pousend and syxe and syxty; here the Cardinal number stands for the Ordinal; the Old English way of reckoning by winters was being dropped. In p. 295 comes the Dorsetshire hii were at on; the very Southern phrase, 'to set at one,' is in our Bible.

Among the Verbs, we may remark many new French idioms. We find bicomen frendes gode, God yt schyld me, p. 58, (Dieu me defende); zeve hym batail; smyte a batayle; do bataile; to segge ssortlyche (shortly to say); sette on fuyre; he pleyede king; bere armes; myn herte us on hum. Some Verbs undergo alteration; thus in p. 29 a man falls from a great height and pitches; this last verb had up to this time been transitive; much in the same way, men are said to spread about, in p. 288; withdraw is intransitive in p. 388. Set also loses its active sense in p. 400, where two hosts sette togadere in fight. On the other hand, to swear a man, is in p. 348; to turn your hand to, is in p. 101. We see, it was vorb ipult (proclaimed); it com to pes (peace); they adde the stretes iler (they had, i.e. made, the streets empty), p. 541. We now talk of mooring a ship, but in p. 499 the verb

is used of woods, which are mored up (rooted up). A town is barned al adown in p. 294; up and down are both used in our day to express intensity, as 'to knock up.' and 'to kill down.' In p. 354, Harold made hys men (attained his end). We see a curious proof of the confusion between the Verbal Noun and the Infinitive in en, for in p. 291 we hear of a token pat to comyng was; it should be to comen (venturum). There is a strange idiom in p. 343; he was well zong to be kyng; it is a great advance on Orrmin's 'good enough to do a thing.' In p. 419 we hear of Rufus' end; then comes the moral, such yt ys to be ssrewe (a shrew); here a thing scems to be omitted after the such. Our easy idiom 'he swore he should hang' comes in p. 448; no that follows the first verb here. The Verb is altogether dropped, to save a repetition; in p. 523 four nobles 'found knights, ech of hom on' (each of them one). This idiom is rather hazy, and is not easy to construe at first sight. One of our Biblical phrases is seen in p. 515, so it was that &c., 'it was so, that.'

Among Adverbs, the use of us is much developed. The old swa swa had been used of yore, when a notion was to be expressed, illustrated by examples; this swa swa now becomes as. Thus we hear, in p. 359, that the Conqueror built abbeys, us Teokesbury and Oseneye. As is further used to English the French comme; in p. 37 Cordelia takes the kingdom as he ryzt eyr. In p. 216 a hero carries off a man's body, ded as yt was. We know the phrase, 'as at this time,' in our Collect for Christmas-day; something like this is seen in p. 552, 'they made peace on the twelfth of May, as in a

Tywesday. In p. 56 comes 'on a hill, as (ubi) many rocks were'; another manuscript has ther for the above as: it is easy to see how thereas and whereas arose. Yet had hitherto been used of time; it is now employed to restrict an idea: in p. 35 we see 'he is come with but one man, and get pilke in feble wede.' We find oversore (nimis), which replaces the old overswipe; also asyde. Wel ynou (p. 284), means valdè felix. One of our intensive forms is out; this we see in p. 121, 'they forsook the king al out' (utterly); we find in this poem seek out and buy out. We see more Soup used as an Adverb in p. 386. King Alfred's clæne (omnino) becomes clanliche at p. 100. We see up and down, p. 552, but there is another form in p. 333, where a man preu up to down (fell upside down). This is the first hint of a new English phrase, due to the West Country, which is further developed in 1320 as upsodoun; the scribe most likely did not understand the phrase: it also occurs in Sevn Julian. preu here, like the Verb pitch, becomes intransitive.

The word but now answers to the Latin quin; hou myste we bote be overcome? p. 306; here the French que must have had an influence. When answers to quoniam in p. 47; wen we belt of on blod.

As to Prepositions: of stands for considering; 'strong of her age' is in p. 110. A law phrase is seen in p. 510, to hold vor him and vor his eirs.

The Interjection Ow, Lord, pe noble folk! comes in p. 56; the common O here got the sound of the French ou; the meaning is, 'O Lord, what noble folk,' &c. This Lord is still a favourite Interjection with us; it seems a translation of the French Dam (dominus).

Among strange words, bad appears, as in the North. Orderic Vital had long before written about sterilensis moneta; we now find a certein sume of sterlings, p. 563: the word is said to come from Germany.

The Southern Version of the Castel of Love (Philological Society) dates from about this time; it resemble. Robert of Gloucester in forms like *pruide* and *kuinde*; we here find *welfare*, p. 9, *outriht*, p. 13.

Other poems of this date are in the other Volume of the Society, after the Play of the Sacrament. In p. 16 we see destrei (destroy); the oy in English, as in French, had the sound, sometimes of the French ê, sometimes of the French ou or ove. The Verb bob, in p. 14, has the sense of ferire.

The long poem of the Alexander (Weber's 'Metrical Romancs,' Vol. I.) seems to have been translated from the French about the year 1300. We may safely refer its translator to some shire near the Great Sundering Line. The dialect is mostly Southern; but certain phrases, such as sket (cito), that (iste), they dispises, p. 70, til ad), han (habent), bigge (not bugge), unmistakeably snack of the North. The translator seems to have lived not far from Gloucestershire, for he repeats the new form huyn (vaccæ); on the whole, Warwickshire seems the most likely place of his abode. We seem to have a foreshadowing of Shakespere in words like horeson, 1, 41, and in p. 52 comes

Swihe mury hit is in halle, When the burdes (beards) wawen alle.

As to Vowils: a replaces eo, as darling; also e, for

snacche (rapere) replaces the snecche of the Ancren Riwle; also i, as in mangle, p. 303 (in the medley), hence our mingle-mangle. E replaces y, as 'he had yment' (in animo habuerat); here the old verb myntan gets confused with mænan (significare). The cole (occidere) of the North makes way for kill, p. 159. The Old English prea (dolor) becomes throwe in p. 78; in the North it is thraw, following the Scandinavian prâ. The oi has the sound of the French ou; for bu (puer) stands in p. 45 for what was called in the Havelok boy.

As to Consonants: we find 'the upper Ynde' in p. 235; this of old would have been ufor; the old forms, upplica or up-flor, may have had some influence on the new term. Overton still survives as the name of many a village. There is something like this in p. 27%, where the Adverb down is supplied with a Comparative downer; there are such new forms as rough, laugh, trough. ah seems not to have been sounded in the middle of a word; we find tighed, (ligatus,) wonyghing, (labitatio). The expletive he gan with the Infinitive nov becomes can; he can chaunge (mutavit), p. 50. C turns into t, for the old streec (directus) is seen as strete, whence comes our straightway; this form must not be confounded with the strait gate, coming from the Frence. The n is clipped at the beginning of nædre (angui), and adder appears. As in the Tristrem, the Infinite in en changes into ing, a confusion with the Verbal Nan; in p. 28 comes withoute doyng; in p. 234 comes wihouten lesyng. This is an advance on the buten ewt to leosen in the Legend of St. Katherine, at p. 259 of my work; the French sans, governing the Infinitive, wis evidently the

model in all these cases. The r is inserted in schill, which is now seen as shrill; some say follering instead of following. When we see a form like scrike (vagire), it is easy to imagine that the very common change of the r into a w would long afterwards produce squeak. The s replaces the r when loren becomes lost; the old loron (amiserunt) remains in p. 152. The s is added to words; amidde becomes amiddes, our amidst.

We find such new Substantives as brother-in-law, a bowe-schote, cité-men, p. 71. Drawbridge is formed, just as spilbred had been. What had hitherto been Jupiter in England is now called Jour, p. 18. old felawe is used in the two widely different senses that still prevail: the abusive one is in p. 172, 'Fy, felaw, theof;' the friendly one is in p. 115, 'He was ryght good felawe.' A noble top becomes in p. 74 a top of nobleys; a strange construction. The old pawa (pavo) is seen as pecock; and calketrappe (calthrop) appears. Doppe, the bird named by us from its dipping or ducking, is mentioned in p. 239; though the form ende (in Latin, anat-is) lasted a hundred and forty years longer. The Verbal Nouns come in fast; in his doyng is in p. 311. As in the Cursor Mundi, they govern the Accusative, bearing witness to English conciseness. This case may now be Plural as well as Singular; in p. 57 we hear that thar was steden lesung, losing of steeds. In p. 325 we are told of stryf for the body beoring, 'burying of the body.' The Accusative Absolute is often found in this poem, as she rod, theo heved al nakid, p. 13.

We see fine stand before another Adjective, just as we use it; in p. 204, fyne hardy men. In p. 263 we

hear of a cité, on of the noblest in Cristianité; this is a new construction of the Superlative.

Among the Pronouns, we see the Nominative put for the Accusative in Y pray ye, maister, in p. 22; the French vous was here translated.

As to Numerals: hundred takes a Plural for the first time; the tayl they kit of hundredis fyve, p. 135.

Among the Verbs, the use of have is much developed. In p. 55 comes they hadden leovere steorve, they had rather die; here have reminds us of the Latin mihi est. and the leovere is a Neuter Adjective. The use of the Past Infinitive, an idiom so contrary to Old English, is now further extended; it follows Adjectives, as worthy to be hongid, p. 75. In p. 47 a lady grauntid to beo spoused, a very French idiom; in Old English pat with a Past tense would have been used after the grauntid. The verb do is freely used; in p. 11 comes do (put) to theo sweord; in p. 84 is do you honour. The corruption of the Second Person Singular of the Strong Perfect goes on; in p. 164 we find thow smotest, instead of the old smote; so peculiar a phrase proves the translator to have lived not far to the South of the Great Sundering Line. In p. 154 cleave (findere) makes its rightful Strong Perfect clef; in p. 151 its Participle is corrupted into the Weak clevyd; we have happily kept the old cloven alive. There are the new Verbs bestir, bewray, overthrow.

As to Adverbs: we have seen Orrmin's forr penaness (for the purpose); this sense now slides into for the occasion; in p. 20 a lady sees something, and is agrisen (frightened) for the nones. The old hwil, as at Colchester a hundred years earlier, takes the usual

modern es at the end and becomes whiles, (whilst). In p. 249 appears here-to-fore; we also find als fer as, aloud, and aside. Along is now used as an Adverb, p. 141. The old cwicliche is pared down, as in the Tristrem; the gates weoren quyk unschut, p. 116.

There are new uses of Prepositions. 'To bid (ask) of a man; 'the place shon of brightness;' hence our 'smack of,' 'savour of.' In p. 270 comes the to of comparison; ther n'ys to hym no best so feloun; hence our 'he was a fool to this fellow.' We follow the French in the idiom, p. 182; this was to Grece a sory fall. To had from the earliest times the meaning of secundum; we now find in p. 307, folk that been to your honour. In p. 41 is fy on the, and in p. 79, to turne on Darie. In p. 59 is seon him in face, which is very French; as is, tel me, bytweene the and me, p. 68. We find word for word, to-fore alle. The old idiom would have been 'before his horse's feet and under:' this is now changed to our freer usage, tofore and under his horses fete, p. 136. The old interchange between of and on comes out, when we see afhungred changed into anhungred; a phrase inserted by Tyndale in our Bible.

The Interjection so ho! so ho! may be found in p. 154.

There are many works, akin to the German, now first cropping up in our island: such are girl, mane, pin, scoff, shingle, top (turbo), and the Verbs cower, curl, dab, plump, scrub, stamp, rotle (rustle); there is also hedlinge (præceps). The word dally appears for the first time.

The new Scandinavian words are fling, ragged, tumble, sturdy, shaw.

The Celtic words (we are not very far from the Welsh border) are, bicker, boistous (boisterous), wail, hog, gun; this last was most likely some engine for darting Greek fire.

I may here point out that it is seldom that we can express one idea by four words, representing the four races that have ruled our island since Roman times. But for plangere we may use, (though there are shades of difference) either the Welsh wail, the English moan, the Danish shriek, or the French cry; this is indeed a wealth of expression. We can often find three representative words of this kind, but seldom four; either the Welsh or the Danish synonym is commonly wanting. The source of derivation is sometimes puzzling. Thus, our word cost may come either from the Welsh costiaux, from the Icelandic kosta, or from the French couster; there is, moreover, a Low German kosten; it is the same with pot.

We have now traced the three periods of Middle English for 180 years: we have seen its Cultivation, from 1120 to 1220; its Neglect, from 1220 to 1280; and its Reparation, by translators of French works, from 1280 to 1300. We have seen the old Inflections pared away at Peterborough in 1160; the disuse of Old English compounds, to be remarked in East Anglia, about 1200; the rush of French words into English, about 1280, has yet to be explained. A greater contrast cannot be imagined, than if we compare the Legend of St. Juliana (1220), with the Havelok (1280).

¹ Bard, Maker, Scald, Poet, are something similar; but the first comes to us from the Welsh through the Latin, and not directly.

Let a line be drawn from Whitby through York, Shrewsbury, and Hereford, to Weymouth. South and East of this line sprang up the many idioms that we have just considered; all of which were in process of time to converge at London. The rough churls of many a shire were shaping the language, that in the fulness of time was to be handled by Shakespere and Milton; while the better-educated priests were translating and bringing in French idioms, fresh from the mint over the sea. A strange jumble of words and idioms, Old English, Scandinavian, and French, goes to form the New English that we now speak. About one third of the changes arose in the Saxon shires, to the South of the Great Sundering Line. About two thirds of the changes come from the shires that lie between Colchester and York, where the new form of England's speech was for the most part compounded by the old Angles and the later Norse comers. Almost half-way between these two towns lived the man, whose writings are of such first-rate importance that they are worthy of having a Chapter to themselves.² After his time there came in but few new Teutonic changes in spelling and idiom, such as those that had been constantly sliding

¹ I wish that the different idioms in French and German could be traced to their local sources, in many an outlying nook. Here is a work well befitting some patriotic scholar.

² The Mercian Danelagh has claims upon architects as well as upon philologers. A rich treat awaits the traveller who shall go from Northampton to Peterborough and Stamford, and so to Hull, turning now and then to the right and left. Most of the noble churches he will see, in his journey of 120 miles, date from the time between 1250 and 1350.

into our written speech between 1120 and 1300. There had been a fixed Standard of Old English, the last traces of which may be seen in King Henry the Second's Charter, about 1160. There was to be a fixed Standard of New English, the first traces of which we shall find in 1303. But between these two dates, there was no Standard of English common to the whole land; every man spoke and wrote what seemed him good.¹

¹ I return once more to the hard question of the Verbal Nouns in *ing* and the Infinitive at *en*. I advise the reader to look carefully at page 259, at page 384, at page 389, at page 411, at page 441, and at page 465. Let him moreover remember the vast infinence exercised by translators from the French.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RISE OF THE NEW ENGLISH.

(1303-1310.)

WE have seen the corruption of speech in the Mercian Danelagh and East Anglia: a corruption more strikingly marked there than in the shires to the South of the Great Sundering Line. We shall now weigh the work of a Lincolnshire man who saw the light at Bourne within a few miles of Rutland, the writer of a poem begun in the year that Edward the First was bringing under his voke the whole of Scotland, outside of Stirling Castle. was in 1303 that Robert of Brunne (known also as Robert Manning) began to compile the Handlyng Synne, the work which, more clearly than any former one, foreshadowed the road that English literature was to tread from that time forward.1 Like many other lays of King Edward the First's time, the new piece was a translation from a French poem; the Manuel des Pechés had been written about thirty years earlier by William of Waddington.² The English poem differs in its diction from all the others that had gone before

¹ This work, with its French original, has been edited for the Roxburgh Club by Mr. Furnivall.

² The date of Waddington's poem is pretty well fixed by a passage in page 248 (Roxburgh Club edition of the *Handlyng Synne*). He writes a tale in French, and his translator says that the sad affair referred to happened 'in the time of good Edward, Sir Henry's son.'

it; for it contains a most scanty proportion of those Teutonic words that were soon to drop out of speech. and it therefore stands in marked contrast to the Cursor Mundi. On the other hand, it has a most copious proportion of French words. Indeed, there are so many foreign words, that we should set the writer fifty years later than his true date had he not himself written it down. In this book we catch our first glimpse of many a word and idiom that were afterwards to live for ever in the English Bible and Prayer-book, works still in the womb of Time. The new Teutonic idioms that took root in our speech after this period were few in number, a mere drop in the bucket, if we compare them with the idioms imported between 1120 and 1300. This shows what we owe to Robert Manning; even as the highest praise of our Revolution of 1688 is, that it The Handlyng Synne is indeed a landwas our last. mark worthy of the carefullest study. I shall give long extracts from it; and I shall further add specimens of the English spoken in many other shires between 1300 and 1350. We are lucky in having so many English manuscripts, drawn up at this particular time: the contrasts are strongly marked. Thus it will be easy to see that the Lincolnshire bard may be called the Patriarch of the New English, much as Cadmon was of the Old English six hundred years earlier. We shall also gain some idea of the influence that the Rutland neighbourhood has had upon our classic tongue.1

For foule Englysshe and feble ryme, Seyde oute of resun many tyme.

¹ Robert seems to have been conscious that he was an innovator, for in p. 267 he asks forgiveness

remarked by Fuller in his time; and in our day Dr. Latham tells us that 'the labouring men of Huntingdon and Northampton speak what is usually called better English, because their vernacular dialect is most akin to that of the standard writers.' He pitches upon the country between St. Neots and Stamford as the true centre of literary English.1 Dr. Guest has put in a word for Leicestershire. Mr. Freeman tells us ('Norman Conquest,' V. 543), that when very young he noticed how little the common language of Northamptonshire differed from Book English. Our classic speech did not arise in London or Oxford; even so it was not in the Papal Court at Rome, or in the King's Palace at Naples, or in the learned University of Bologna, that the classic Italian sprang up with sudden and marvellous growth.

The Handlyng Synne shows how the different tides of speech, flowing from Southern, Western, and Northern shires alike, met in the neighbourhood of Rutland, and all helped to shape the New English. Robert of Brunne had his own mother-tongue to start with, the Dano-Anglian dialect corrupted by five generations since our first glimpse of it in 1120. He has their peculiar use of niman for the Latin ire, and other marks of the East Midland. From the South this speech had borrowed the change of α into o and c into ch (hence Robert's moche, e eche, whyche, swych), of e into e into e into e into e. From the West came to him one

 $^{^1}$ I visited Stamford in 1872, and found that the letter \hbar was sadly misused in her streets.

² His moche was used by good writers down to Elizabeth's time.

of the worst of all our corruptions, Layamon's Active Participle in ing instead of the older form: Robert leans to this evil change, but still he often uses the old East Midland Participle in and. With the North Robert has much in common: we can see by his rimes that he wrote the Danish pepen (p. 81) and mykel (p. 253), instead of the Southern pen and mochyl, which have been foisted into his verse by the Southerner who transcribed the Poem sixty years later. The following are some of the forms Robert uses, which are found, many of them for the first time, in the Northern Psalter: childer, fos, ulka, tane, ire, gatte, hank, slagheter, handmayden, lighten, wrecched, abye, sle, many one, dounright, he seys, thou sweres, sky (cœlum). He, like the translator of the Psalter, delights in the form gh; not only does he write sugh, lagheter, doghe, nyghe, neghbour, but also kneugh and nagheer (our knew and nowhere). This seems to show that in Southern Lincolnshire, in 1303, the gh had not always a guttural sound. He also sometimes clips the ending of the Imperative Plural; 1 but he turns the Yorkshire thou has into thou hast. In common with another Northern work, the Sir Tristrem, Robert uses the new form ye for the Latin tu; he has also the new senses given in that work to the old words smart and croun. He employs a multitude of idioms, that we saw first in the Cursor Mundi; the same Danish influence was at work in Yorkshire and in Lincolnshire. Like his East Midland brethren at Colchester and Norwich, he has no love for Prepositional compounds. He holds fast to the speech

¹ This is as great a change as if the Latin *intelligite* were to be written *intellig*.

of his forefathers when writing words like yole, kirk, til werre (pejus). For the Latin idem and racca he has both same and yche, (probably written ylk,) both ky and keyn. We can gather from his poem that England was soon to replace zede (ivit) by went, oper by second, sipe by time; that she was soon to lose her swithe (valde), and to substitute for it right and full: very is of rather later growth.1 Almost every one of the Teutonic changes in idiom, distinguishing the New English from the Old, the speech of Queen Victoria from the speech of Hengist, is to be found in Manning's work. We have had few Teutonic changes since his day, a fact which marks the influence he has had upon our tongue.2 In his writings we see clearly enough what was marked by Sir Philip Sidney almost three hundred years later: 'English is void of those cumbersome differences of cases, genders, moods, and tenses, which I think was a piece of the Tower of Babylon's curse, that a man should be put to schoole to learne his mother-tongue; but for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceit of the minde, which is the ende of speech, that it hath equally with any other tongue in the world.'3 The Elizabethan knight ought to have been well pleased with the clippings and parings of the Edwardian monk.

As to his Vowels: Robert is influenced by the Scan-

¹ The idea of swithe is kept in Pepys's 'mighty merry,' and the common phrase, 'you be main heavy.'

² Its, unless, below, somehow, uppermost, outside it, bye and bye, he is being beaten, having been beaten, owing to this, are our main Teutonic changes since Manning's time.

³ Quoted by Marsh, Lectures on English Language, p. 88.

dinavian tradition, and sometimes clips the u at the beginning; he thus makes syse (our size) out of assyse, p. 289; epistle loses its first e, which reminds us of Orrmin. In p. 251 Robert replaces i by o; the Verb 'they witen' becomes 'they wote,' though another copy of the work has the form wete. He also replaces a by o; $l\hat{u}dman$ (dux) is turned into lodesman, something like loadstar. We see not, and sometimes nat (non), instead of the Southern nout. In lady (domina) he throws the accent upon the last syllable, as is so often done in our ballads:

For to be holde be feyryst lady.—P. 103.

In this piece, the y having lost its old sound, is constantly used for i, as in lady. The old heah (celsus) now becomes hughe; we keep the older sound in 'hey-day of youth.' The u is used for other letters: we find sunner, not soner (citius); tug, not teogan (trahere); ryztwus, not rihturs (justus). This last shows us why the Duke of York in 1452 wrote rightwous (Gairdner, 'Paston Letters,' I. lxxx), and why Tyndale, seventy years later still, wrote righteous; French words like plenteuous had an influence here. The kulle (potuit) of East Anglia is now spelt coude, p. 133; we have thrust an l into the middle of this, from a false analogy. The soru of the Cursor Mundi is now written sorow; of course, the sound is unchanged. The old fol (stultus) is written foyle, p. 94, thus agreeing with the Yorkshire ful in pronunciation. The old teopa (decime) is seen as type, p. 288.

There is much paring of Consonants. We see shust

and wast for our shouldest and wouldest; as malre and afore replace older forms of these words, the a coming instead of on. The h is clipped, for he or ha becomes a, in Mrs. Quickly's style. Orrmin's forr bi (præter) appears as forby, p. 361. In p. 374 næfre is pared down to neere, at the end of a line. Y felte (sensi) is in p. 380. We have already seen teogan as tug; another form of the word appears, to express dalliance:

And make nat a mys be toye .- P. 246.

The Lindisfarne Gospels, St. Luke, p. 151, had losad wees for perditus est; this Participle is now written lost, p. 94, as in the Alexander. The old pullure (perdidisti) is seen as pou lostest in p. 373. There was still some uncertainty about the new sound for the hard g; Robert has both eye and awe for timor, riming with seye and sawe. In p. 208 gate (via) rimes with zate (porta). Bruno, the German who became Pope Leo in Hildebrand's early days, is seen as Brunyng, p. 286; Caxton, long afterwards, used Browning as well as Bruin for the bear. Hence comes a well-known English surname. The most startling of of all our clippings and parings is seen in p. 325, where St. Æthelthryth is shortened into St. Audre; the poet had doubtless knelt at her shrine on his way to Cambridge. Still later, Botolphston was to be cut down to Boston; we know how we shorten words like Cholmondeley and Circucester.

There is much to remark in the Substantives. The Verbal Nouns are often repeated; as pe mening (significatio), p. 138, he made hys endyng (mortuus est), p. 200. There are phrases like serving man, p. 28; melk slope

(milksop), p. 18, meaning a bag for milk; a holy watyr clerk, p. 360, used of an ignorant priest. The Substantive is dropped after the Participle, for le mort is Englished by pe dede, p. 74, and in p. 197 we hear of pe dedys rygt; we find the Passive Participle used in this way before the Conquest, as the uccursed. We see the true Old English idiom of time-reckoning, when, at p. 154, de cinc anz esteit is turned into was but fyre wyntyr olde. In p. 281 stands unto pat tyme tuelvemonthe end; in Layamon's Second Text a would have come after the word tyme. The bench of Magistrates is foreshadowed in p. 171; ze stywardes on benche. half now becomes behalf; on Goddes behalve is in p. 281. Score seems to get a new meaning, that of ratio, at p. 346; speke oute of skore. We see the cause why, so often used by our lower orders, foreshadowed in gode skyl why, p. 6; resun why, p. 131; these come in the middle of sentences. In p. 276 stands at alle endes, where we should now use the kindred phrase, at all events. In p. 361 comes: 'I have shewede myn owne lyfe, none outer mannes y wyl dyscrye.' This Englishes ma vie, ne mie autrue; Robert's sentence becomes very concise by dropping lyfe after mannes. In p. 86 we hear of Londun toune, a continuation of the Old English idiom used before the Conquest. In p. 194 is the line

Ne slepte onely a lepy wynke.

Eton Bucks is the name that used to be given to the lads bred at King Henry the Sixth's renowned College. In the Handlyng Synne (p. 102), we see how the Old English bucca (hircus) came to mean a dandy.

And of pese berdede buckys also, Wyp hem self pey moche mysdo, pat leve Crystyn mennys acyse, And haunte alle pe newe gyse; per whylys pey hade pat gyse on hande Was nevere grace yn pys lande.

These are Robert's own rimes; for Waddington, writing earlier, had not thought it needful to glance at the beard movement, though he bore hard on the ladies and their dress. The Scandinavians used bokki, much like our 'old buck,' 'old fellow.'

London thieves speak of their booty as sway. The word of old meant nothing but a bag; the connexion between the two ideas is plain; schoolboys still talk of bagging their mates' goods.

pere was a wycche, and made a bagge, A bely of lepyr, a grete swagge.—Page 17.

A Substantive may be employed almost as an Interjection. In p. 322, a man, in sore need, wants a virtuous priest; he calls out, using no verb:

A prest! a prest of clene lyfe!

Among the Adjectives, we see misproud, bostful. From pité is formed pitiful, and also pitifulness, which is now found; the form pitous (piteous) was used in Kent. Right is employed in a new sense in p. 359, O ryst vyleyn! something as we use regular.

We have already seen the Old English god wer and rihtwis; Robert slightly alters this by inserting a before both of the Adjectives; 'a gode man and a ryst stedefaste,' p. 74.

In Pronouns, we are struck by the sharp distinction now first drawn between thou and ye; the thou is used by a husband to his wife, (alas for the age of chivalry!) as to a person beneath him; the ye is used by a wife to her husband, who is above her. See the long dialogue in p. 322. More than a hundred years before this time, Nigel Wireker had complained of the English students at Paris, who drank too much and were far too familiar in speech:

Wesseil et drinchail, necnon persona secunda; Hæc tria sunt vitia quæ comitantur eos.¹

That is, the English would not lay aside their national and straightforward pu, thou, for the polite French vous. The change was at length effected by 1303, and the distinction now made lasted for three hundred years. In 1603, an ignorant Irish servant, we are told, will thow his master, and think it no offence.2 Coke told Raleigh on his trial that he thou-ed him. Rather later, the Quakers held it wrong to make distinctions between persons, and they therefore thowed every one, from the King downwards; they clave to the old Teutonic fashion, that had never been encroached on down to 1200, and they made an earnest protest against the Frenchified foppery of later times. King Alfred had used geon like the Latin iste, but always with a Substantive following; Robert uses you by itself; 'Yole, is yone by page?' p. 184; this idiom is still heard in Lincolnshire. Our poet is fond of repeating a Pronoun after a

Wireker, p. 56.

² See Ellis' *Letters*, vol. I. 1st Series, p. 194.

Noun; as rere sopers, pey be &c., p. 226. The phrase al beo (quamvis) had been used in the Ancren Riwle; hyt is now added in p. 241, and our albeit is still alive. The body of Gloucestershire is in full use, as sum body, p. 120. We see fyrst and last, p. 161; one or ouper, p. 205; ones for ever, p. 300; ones or twyys, p. 263; see no more of him, p. 341; one of pys dayys, p. 105; this last is a thoroughly French idiom. In p. 170 is pey greve hym alle pat pey kan. In p. 324 comes a common idiom:

Nat only for soules ys he herde, But also for &c.

As to Verbs: the shall is employed in a new sense, which lasted to Addison's day, and is even now used by those that affect quaint speech. In p. 258 is 'an old fool shal become a dyssour, (a prater),' where the idea is semper fit, or solet fieri; 'you shall find so and so,' was most common in the Seventeenth Century. In p. 334 comes every man shulde have post; this Pluperfect Subjunctive seldom found before, was now coming in. I have already pointed out that will is used to express intense earnestness, as in the case of a threat or a promise; as 'I'll have you flogged;' 'I'll be down on you.' There is, in our days, one exception to this rule, whenever the Verb be is followed by a hostile Adjective; we may say, 'I will be merciful,' or 'I will play the tyrant,' but not 'I will be harsh.' But in 1303, this exception was not allowed, at least in the North, for we find in p. 180:

y wyl be wrop, and pou shal be me lop.

Here the speaker is intensely earnest, bent upon work-

ing out his own salvation. There is a great difference between the North and South in this most difficult question of shall and will. In p. 256 comes hyt may weyl be for fortasse: this is the Scandinavian má vera. We find, not only the Optative, God wulde, but the more long-lived wulde God. A Verb is dropped in p. 355; pou mayst me save, and (et) y have hele; here of old another may would have followed the y; we see the true New English conciseness. The do and did before an Infinitive are often found, as in Gloucestershire; we do jangle, he netiles dyde byte. The Infinitive to be is dropped in p. 153; better were be chylde unbore, than fayle chastysyng. Something of the same kind is seen in p. 299; and also the phrase so unwyse for to crystene; we should now substitute as for the first Preposition. The Infinitive represents when with a Subjunctive, in the sentence at p. 8; he dede outrage, to make be devyl omage. Orrmin's neden (egere), replacing the old parf, is now followed by the Infinitive; nedyb ye take ensample, p. 40; still terser is, Jephthah avowede, and nedyd naghte, p. 92. When we say 'he need not,' there is an attempt to imitate the old Irregular Verbs, like can and dare, which had no s at the end in the Third Person. There is an attempt at forming the Future Participle in p. 40; bou art yn weye be broghte to peyne; 'he is about to tempt thee,' in this Poem, denotes not the simple Future so much as intense earnest purpose; this last sense lasted until 1611, 'Why go ye about to kill me?'

¹ In Somersetshire, they say 'he do be' for *est*. Mr. Earle (*Philology*, p. 492), gives instances of this idiom from the old Romance of Eger and Grime.

The Passive Voice makes further strides; any English writer before 1200 would have shuddered at such a sentence as, a man may be zwe (given) penaunce, p. 334. The Passive Infinitive is put for the rightful Active (Orrmin had done this) in p. 50, bey bet to be blamede. To kone changes from scire to discere in p. 38, following the Scandinavian kynna; hence to con a lesson. To lere stands for both docere and discere, as learn had stood in the Tristrem. To win adds the sense of allicere to that of acquirere; to wynne a man fro synne to godenes, p. 151. Set has, besides pouere, the new meaning of æstimare in set at nost, p. 242; the old sense remains, for we hear of a lady setting her croket (arranging her chaplet), p. 102; in our day she would set her cap at In p. 200, executors endyn (moriuntur); in p. 211 Lazarus wishes to pyke crummes; like the Salopian picke (peck, of a bird) in 1220. In p. 246 dwell means habitare as well as morari: a new sense of the word that was now coming in. The old weyre had meant torquere; it now means deserve: in p. 258 the Southern transcriber has written forsake above this Danish word, which was not understood in the South. In p. 305 a woman is said to zyve (give) here to folye; this idiom is common to France and Scandinavia. In p. 332 comes she dede (acted) for hym; this we have seen in the Dame Siriz. In p. 334 stands bey synke here synne (forget it); hence our sink the shop. There is another French idiom in p. 340; pe fame ran. Mr. Tennyson's Northern farmer complains of his parson casting up (objicere) about á bairn; in p. 366 the elder Lincolnshire bard has, pey kaste azens be prest, pat &c.; this is true Scandinavian.

In p. 393 the new turn supplants the old weorpan (vertere or rather fieri); we see to turn bright, the meaning which the Yorkshire get was to acquire. The verb know takes the further meaning distinguere; none know zoure fro oure bones. There is a new sense of burst; Y brast on lagheter, p. 288. We have seen in the Cursor Mundi 'the feast was done; 'we now find, in p. 31, the Imperative with no Accusative following; comyp alle home, and havyb down: hence the well-known ha done, do! of our lower orders. Wed takes no Accusative in p. 55; he hap wedded ynne by kyn. But, on the other hand, run takes one; he ran hus cours, p. 81, like the Scandinavian renna skeið. Put stands in the place of the old do in p. 89, put him to swere; in p. 186 is pey swerep parto; the Old English bind was followed by to, and seems to have had influence here. A new verb is formed from night in p. 241, he nyghetede, where we should say, 'he was benighted.' There are phrases like Ydar seye, sytte up at nyghte, holde her tunge, unwetyng. It falles him (accidit) is a Scandinavian sense of the verb, already seen in the Cursor. Shrew seems to become a verb, for in p. 155 we hear of shrewede sonys (filii); the verb beshrew appears in later writers of the Century. The poet was used to write troupe both for veritas (as in the Cursor Mundi) and for pignus. The last is described in p. 330 as troupe yn hande wyp hande leyde. From this he forms a new Verb in p. 56, pey have troupede; our betroth was to come a few years later. The old treowsian had long been thrown aside. This reminds us of what has been said above, that often in our language a word is dropped, leaves a perceptible gap, and then is revived in a slightly different form. Our common he berep be bel is first seen in p. 135.

Among the Adverbs, we remark a tendency to cut off the e at the end; as she lovely trew, swere fals; truly stands for verè in p. 359. Neodlice is pared down to nedly, p. 350; there is also ruefully, formed from the reculful of the Ancren Riwle. We see the two senses of lusty, the bad hibidinosus and the good hilaris; a lusty lyng, p. 245; y drank lustyly, p. 101. Well is used for sanus, as we see in p. 324, he was weyl. We find sum tyme (olim), p. 241; fro henne forwarde, p. 220; be tymes, p. 221; told it up and downe, p. 332; oftyn tyme, p. 388; yn dede (en effet, verè) p. 12. There is a form akin to what we have seen in the Cursor:

For yn as moche hat she doup men synne, Yn so moche shal she have plyghte ynne.—P. 110.

The sense of quantum here was soon to slide into that of quoniam. The so ford and so feor of 1200 now becomes so fer furp; and this may be seen in Tyndale; we now cut off the last word. In p. 85 comes our Indefinite phrase, he hap do so or so. In p. 213 the omission of ne before but produces the effect of the Latin tuntum, as we saw many years earlier; he dyde but lete an hounde hym to; the use of do is a novelty. In p. 247 comes how as evere; there is also what as evere; the so and the as are but two forms of the old swa. The everihwar (ubique) of the Ancren Riwle is replaced by our corrupt every where. The true English conciseness is seen again in p. 298, zyf ze kunnat, (know not) lernep how to save pat &c.; here kun has neither Accusative nor Infinitive after it.

Among the Prepositions, for stands instead of the old

¹ We may compare sum tyme and whiles, whilum; both of them express aliquando and olim too.

to; as, it was for no gode, p. 172; the French pour had influence in a phrase like he meneb alle bys for man, p. 225; so, to answere for, p. 231. The French à clearly prompted the poet's 'set ut noghte;' to or on would have been used earlier. In be redy wup my clopus, p. 41, it would seem that some such phrase as when dealing should go before with: it is a curious English idiom. In p. 336 stands shepe goun wrong besyde pe pap; here beside adds to juxta the further meaning of extra, and we have the key to Festus' phrase, 'thou art beside thyself.' We are told that harm is done, p. 346, betwyze fals ande coveytous; the Preposition here implies the agency of more than one cause; what with one, what with the other. We see the old Genitive making way for of; and this was further developed by the great writers of the Fourteenth Century, rather later; in p. 275 pe syste of here comes instead of her sight, like Orrmin's lufe off himm.

The Interjections are, the scornful Prut for py cursyng, prest! p. 96; ² Lorde! what shall swych men seye? p. 137; this in the French was Deu! and we have seen it in the Cursor. The French hei of 1220 has now given way to the Scandinavian & or ay; ey comes in p. 121, and this is the eh, now so widely prevalent in the Northern shires, standing at the beginning of a sentence, and expressing astonishment. In p. 136 is what devyl! why &c.; this is Robert's own, and is not translated from the

 $^{^{1}}$ I knew an Englishman, who thus addressed a waiter abroad: 'Soyez vite avec le diner.'

² Prutta is a Scandinavian verb, 'to shout, when driving horses.'

French; jy a debles was a common phrase in French writings.

The Scandinavian words are: first, the form pou are (tu es), p. 162, which comes more than once; there are besides,

Cunning (scientia), from the Norse kunnandi. Ekename (nickname), from the Swedish öknamn. Lowly, from the Norse ligligr.

Nygun (niggard), from the Norse nyggja, to scrape. Plank, from the Norse planki.

Stumble, from the Norse stumra.

Squyler (scullion), from the Norse skola, to wash.

In connexion with this last, swele (lavare) is also found in the Poem.

The Scandinavian Verb sekke was not understood in the South; for the transcriber writes over it fyl pe bag, in the following couplet—

> pe whyles pe executours sekke, Of pe soule pey ne rekke.—P. 195.

We have still the phrase (rather slangy), to *suck* a sum of money. The Verb *hap* is used, coming from the Icelandic; Layamon had used the word only as a Noun.

The Verb burble represents the later bubble. There is the Celtic Noun mattee.

There is a well-known by-word in p. 286:

The nere pe cherche, pe fyrper fro Gode.

In p. 76 stands 'many smale makep a grete.'
In p. 151 is—

He pat wyl nat whan he may, He shal nat when he wyl. The last line is a good instance, how shall implies fate, will implies desire.

We have another Poem, which is almost certainly by Robert of Brunne, belonging to the same date.1 is 'The Medytaciuns of pe Soper of oure Lorde,' a translation from Cardinal Bonaventura's original. There are some Northern forms, which have been left by the Southern transcriber, such as them and nor. In line 446, the original peylc has evidently been turned into peke. In line 673 the Northern seys (dicunt) must have been written by Robert, riming with dystroyes (tu evertis); these have been altered into the Southern seyp and dystroup, much to the loss of the sense, as regards the last Verb. The Southern transcriber may have been a Kentishman, for he has a ver (afar), and teren (lachrymæ). I have given at page 473 the close of the Poem, the part which is Robert's own, and no translation. There is here hardly a word, that cannot now be understood.

In p. 35 we see the insertion of gh, a form beloved by Robert, in the Teutonic strait of the Alexander; streyght is accordingly found, which we have but slightly altered. Hampole writes it strek, in the true old way. The iswowe of the Severn has an n at the end, and becomes swoun, as we still sound it.

The Verbal Nouns abound, such as yn here seyng (visus), pe dowyny of &c., just as we now pronounce doing; these are both in p. 17. We hear of a mysdoer in p. 16; in the same page people go by a bypap; thirty

¹ Printed by the Early English Text Society. At p. xvii. of that work, I have set out my reasons for giving the authorship of the piece to Robert of Brunne.

years later Manning was to write of a biwey (bye-way) in another Poem of his. Here a Noun and Preposition form a compound. In p. 2 we read, (it) ys hys dycyples fete wasshyng; a curious instance of packing three Nouns together; a foretaste of our 'Commons Enclosure Act.'

On turning to the Adjectives, Orrmin's wweppel is replaced by a longer word, for we find wwwschypfullest in p. 15; the ful with a Superlative ending is something new. The beautiful word homely is now coined from home, to express St. John's familiarity in sleeping on Christ's breast, p. 9.1 Al is prefixed to heyl (salve) in p. 12.

Among the Pronouns, we see both the Southern hem and the Northern pem, riming with each other in p. 12. The zow (vos) is used by the poet in addressing our Lord, just as it had been employed in the Havelok, which was written not far off.

As to Verbs, shall and will are confused, or rather shall is used for must, in myn herte shulde ha broste (burst), p. 32. There is a new idiom in p. 6; yn goyng, he shewed obedyens; this must be a translation of the French Participle preceded by en, and it is something altogether new in English; we need not here search for an Infinitive or Verbal Noun. In p. 12 comes, as pou lest (sicut tibi placet); before this time, the Dative pe would have been used. In p. 26 comes y wyl do pat ys yn me (what I can.) In p. 28 is pey

Dandie Dinmont, after kissing Miss Lucy, excuses himself by saying, 'the Captain's sae hamely, he gars ane forget himsell.'

lakkun strenghe; here again the Dative hem would have been formerly used after lakkes (deest); the Verb now gets the sense of carere. He gan had long been used as an Auxiliary Verb; in p. 35 it stands as an Imperative; gun we hum grete. She rose is turned into she rust, in p. 32; hence the riz that may sometimes be heard now. A Weak Intransitive Verb becomes Strong; the old stician (hærere) made its Perfect sticode; but in p. 29 comes the Perfect, be nayles stokyn yn be tre; we have seen something like this in the Tristrem. On the other hand, in p. 31 comes melted instead of the rightful molten: the first form is now used of the mind, the latter of metals. There are phrases like say grace, bring about; there is also the Scandinavian farewel; in p. 4, the expletive y seye comes in the middle of a sentence; we now use it at the beginning of a sentence.

A new Adverb is formed by adding ly to a Past Participle, as krokedly, p. 18; such a form as laughingly had been long established. The East Anglian form feipnow produces feylfullye, p. 9; the ending ful is in constant use, and is a pet form of Manning's. The wherefore comes in, referring to a foregoing sentence, like the Latin quamobrem; an instance of this may be found in p. 12.

When we see in p. 27, y prey zow of frenshepe, the of represents the Danish af, which stands in the same way before Abstract Nouns; the French de is used in the same way. Hence comes 'of your charity,' of his own accord.' The use of for is extended; she fyl as for dede

¹ Coleridge uses rist (surrexit) as a rime.

(dead), p. 27: the Scandinavian fyrir (for) sometimes stood for our as; thus, 'to know for certain.'

There is a new Verb, wrap, akin to the Frisian, in p. 31.

In my specimens taken from the Handlynge Synne, I have chosen parts that are wholly Robert's own and no translation from the French. I give first a tale of the great Bishop of Lincoln, who died but a few years before our poet's birth: I then give St. Paul's description of Charity, a well-known passage, which may be compared with our Version of the Bible put forth three hundred years after the Handlyng Synne: next comes a peep into English life in Edwardian days: next, a tale of a Norfolk bondeman or farmer; last of all comes the bard's account of himself and the date of his rimes. Had the Handlyng Synne been a German work, marking an era in the national literature, it would long ago have been given to the world in a cheap form. But we live in England, not in Germany. I could not have gained a sight of the poem, of which a few copies have been printed for the Roxburgh Club, had I not happened to live within reach of the British Museum.

Page 150.

Y shall gow telle as y have herde Of pe bysshope Seynt Roberde, Hys toname ys Grostest Of Lynkolne, so seyp pe gest.^b He lovede moche to here pe harpe; For mannys wyt hyt makyp sharpe; Next hys chaumbre, besyde hys stody, His harpers chaumbre was fast perby.

surname
 story

Many tymes be nyxtys and dayys, He had solace of notes and layys. c once One askede hym onys, resun why He hadde delyte yn mynstralsy: He answerede hym on bys manere, Why he helde be harper so dere: ' pe vertu of be harpe, burghe skylle and ryzt, Wyl destroye be fendes mygt, And to be croys by gode skylle d well Ys be harpe lykenede weyle.d Anoper poynt cumforteth me, pat God hab sent unto a tre So moche joye to here wyp eere; Moche pan more joye ys pere e dwells Wyb God hym selfe bere he wonys,e f reminds pe harpe perof me ofte mones, -Of he joye and of he blys Where Gode hym self wonys and ys. ≅ learn pare for, gode men, ze shul lere, Whan ze any glemen here, To wurschep Gode at zoure powere, As Davyde seyb yn be sautere, Yn harpe, yn thabour, and symphan gle, Wurschepe Gode, yn troumpes and sautre, Yn cordys, an organes, and bellys ryngyng, Yn al bese, wurschepe ze hevene kyng.'

Page 222.

Se now what seynte Poule seys
Yn a pystyl, he same weys,—
' poghe y speke as weyl wyh tung
As any man or aungel hah song,
And y lyve nat wyh charyte,
No hyng avayleh hyt to me.
For y do han rygt as he bras,
And as he tympan, hat bete was;

a just b beaten

De bras to oper zvvep grete sown, And bet hym self up and down. And poghe y speke al yn prephecve, And have be kunnyng of every maystrye,° * knowledge And wyb gode beleve myghte seve De hylles to turne yn to be valeye, Lyf hyt ne be wyb charyte wroghte, Elles, he seyp pat y am noghte. pogh y zyve all my wurldes gode Unto pore mennys fode, And give my body for to brenne Opunly oper men to kenne,d d teach But zyf bar be charyte wyb alle, · unless My mede parfore shal be ful smalle. Loke now how many godenesse per are Wyb oute charyte noghte but bare. Wylt bou know by self, and se Lyf bou wone in charyte? f dwell 'Charyte suffreb bob gode and yl, And charyte ys of reuful wyl, Charyte hap noun envye, And charyte wyl no felunnye; Charyte ys nat irus, And charyte ys nat coveytous; Charyte wyl no bostful preysyng: He wyl noghte but rygtwys byng: Charyte lovep no fantome, No pynges pat evyl may of come; He hap no joye of wykkednes, But love alle pat sothefast s es; s truthful Alle godenes he up bereb; Alle he suffreb, and noun he dereb,h h harms Gode hope he hap yn ryghtewys byng, And alle he susteyneb to be endyng; Charyte ne fayleb noghte. Ne no byng bat wyb him ys wroghte. When alle prephecyes are alle gone,

And alle tunges are leyde echone,
And alle craftys fordo 'shul be,
pan lastep stedfast charyte.'

pus seyp seynt Poule, and moche more,
Yn pystyl of hys lore.

rnined

Page 227.

a late As v have tolde of rere 2 sopers, De same falled of erly dyners; Dyners are oute of skyl and resun On be Sunday, or hye messe be doun.2 Doghe bou have haste, here zyt a messe, b completely Al holy, b and no lesse, the conse. And nat symple a sakare,c cration For hyt ys nat ynow for be, part But d hyt be for lordys powere Or pylgrymage bat hab no pere. Are bou oghte etc, bys ys my rede, Take holy water and holy brede; For, yn aventure kas, hyt may be save, e Eucharist Lyf housel e ne shryfte bou mayst have. Alle oper tymes ys glotonye reason But hyt be grete enchesun f why. On oper hyghe dayys, gyf pat ou may, poghe pat hyt be nat Sunday, Here by messe or bou dyne, Lyf pou do nat, ellys ys hit pyne; s g woe Lordes pat have preste at wyl, Me benkeb bey trespas ful yl pat any day ete, are bey here messe, h unless But Tyfh hyt be burghe harder dystresse.

¹ In these twenty-two lines there are thirteen French words, not counting repetitions; in our Version of 1611, there are but twelve French words in the same passage.

² Ere appears in this piece as or and are.

Pe men pat are of holy cherche,
Pey wete weyl how pey shul werche;
But swych i y telle hardyly,
Pat swych a preste doup glotonye
Pe levyp hys messe on pe auter
For to go to a dyner.
So ne shulde he do, for no pyng,
For love ne awe of no lordyng,
Eut zyf hyt were for a grete nede
Pit shulde hym falle, or a grete drede.

such

Page 269.

Yn Northfolk, yn a tounne, Wonede a knyxt besyde a persone; Fyl byt so, he knygtes manere b Wasnat fro be cherche ful fere; And was hyt pan, as oftyn falles, Broke were be cherche zerde walles. De loides hyrdes often lete Hys lestys yn to be cherche zerde and ete; De bestys dyde as bey mote nede, Fyleded overal pere pey zede. A bonle man say f bat, ande was wo Dat be bestys shulde pere go; He con to be lorde, and seyde hym bys. 'Lorde' he sezde, 'zoure bestys go mys,s Loure lyrde dop wrong, and zoure knavys, Dat late zoure bestys fyle bus bese gravys; pere mennys bonys shulde lye, Bestes shulde do no vyleynye.' De lordes answere was sumwhat vyle, And has falleh evyl to a man gentyle; 'Weyl were hyt do' rygt for he nones To wurschyp i swych cherles bones; What vurschyp shulde men make Abouteswych cherles bodyes blake?'

* par-on

b manor

e far

d defiled

went

s amiss

h done

· honour

De bonde man answerede and seyde Wurdys to gedyr ful weyl leyde, ' De Lorde pat made of erbe erles, Of the same erbe made he cherles; Erles mygt and lordes stut k As cherles shal yn erbe be put. Erles, cherles, alle at ones, Shal none knowe zoure fro oure bones.' De lorde lestenede pe wurdes weyl And recordede hem every deyl;1 No more to hym wulde he seye, But lete hym go furbe hys weve; He seyde be bestys shulde no more By hys wyl come bore.m Sepen n he closede pe cherchezerde so bat no best mygt come parto. For to ete ne fyle per ynne, So boxt hym seben bat hyt was synne. Dyr are but fewe lordes now Dat turne a wrde so wel to prow; o But who seyb hem any skylle,p Mysseve agen q fouly bey wylle. Lordynges, byr are ynow of bo; r Of gentyl men, byr are but fo. 1

* stout

bit

m tlere

advantage
wisdom
huse in
turn
those

Page 3.

To alle Crystyn men undir sunne, And to gode men of Brunne, And speciali alle bi name De felaushepe of Symprynghame,

¹ In one copy of the *Harrowing of Hell*, Christ calls Satan 'lording.' In the Genesis and Exodus, Moses calls his rebels 'lordings.'

Roberd of Brunne gretep zow In al godenesse pat may to prow.^a Of Brymwake yn Kestevene, Syxe myle besyde Sympryngham evene Y dwellede yn pe pryorye Fyftene zere yn companye.

a advantage

Dane Felyp was mayster pat tyme pat y began pys Englyssh ryme. De yeres of grace fyl b pan to be A pousynd and pre hundrede and pre. In pat tyme turnede y pys On Englysshe tunge out of Frankys, Of a boke as y fonde ynne; Men clepyn be boke 'Handlyng Synne.'

b fell

MEDYTACYUNS OF THE SOPER OF OURE LORDE.-P. 35.

Thenk, man, and se Cryst after hys deb: For by synne strength to helle he get, Oute of be fendys bonde to be fre. And be fende bonde to make to be. penk, also, be grete dede of hys powere: He mygt ha sent an angel to save us here, But pan of oure salvacyun we shulde nat panke hym, But calle be aungel saver of alle mankyn. parfor hys fadyr so hertly loved us, a begotten He gave us hys owene gete sone Thesus; pan we onely hym panke and do hym onoure, As fadyr, as former, socoure, and savyoure. Dank we now oure savyoure, pat salve us hap brogt, Oure syke soules to save, whan synne hap hem sort. Of hys grete godenes gyn we hym grete, Seveng be wurde of Sakarye be holy prophete: 'Lorde God of Israel, blessed mote pou be, 'Dy peple bou hast vysyted and boxt hem to be,

'Whych setyn yn derkenes of dep and dysese, 'pou lygtest hem and ledest yn to pe wey of pese.' To pat pes pereles we prey pou us bryng, pat levyst and reynest withoute endyng.

Amen.

NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE.

(A.D. 1338.)

Now of kyng Robin salle I zit speke more, & his broper Tomlyn, Thomas als it wore, & of Sir Alisandere, pat me rewes sore, Dat bobe come in skandere, for dedes pei did pore. Of arte he had be maistrie, he mad a corven kyng In Cantebrige to be clergie, or his brober were kyng. Sipen was never non of arte so pat sped, Ne bifore bot on, pat in Cantebrigge red. Robert mad his fest, for he was pore pat tyme, & he sauh alle be gest, but wrote & mad his ryme. Sir Alisander was hie dene of Glascow, & his broper Thomas zed spiand ay bi throw, Where our Inglis men ware not in clerke habite, & non wild he spare, bot destroied also tite. Dorgh be kyng Robyn bei zede be Inglis to spie, Here now of per fyn pam com for pat folie.1

Hearne's Langtoft's Chronicle, II. 336. The lines were written by Manning, some thirty years after his Handlyng Synne, at a time when he lived further to the North. The Northern dialect is most apparent. We here read of his getting a glimpse of the Bruce family at Cambridge, about the year 1300 or earlier. I can trace the North Lincolnshire dialect to 1515. In the accounts for building Louth Broach come the words gar, kirk, ligging, spure (rogare), they has.—Poole's Ecclesiastical Architecture, p. 360. Mr. Tennyson's Northern Farmer should also be studied.

YORKSHIRE.

(About A.D. 1340.)

HAMPOLE.

Dan waxes his hert hard and hevv. And his heved feble and dysy; Dan waxes his gast seke and sare, And his face rouncles, ay mare and mare: His mynde es short when he oght thynkes, His nese ofte droppes, his hand stynkes, His sight wax dym, pat he has, His bax waxes croked; stoupand he gas; Fyngers and taes, fote and hande, Alle his touches er tremblande. His werkes for-worthes that he begynnes: His hare moutes, his eghen rynnes; His eres waxes deef, and hard to here, His tung fayles, his speche is noght clere; His mouthe slavers, his tethe rotes, His wyttes fayles, and he ofte dotes; He is lyghtly wrath, and waxes fraward, Bot to turne hym fra wrethe it es hard.1

DURHAM (?).

(About A.D. 1320.)

SMALL'S METRICAL HOMILIES.

A tal of this fest haf I herd, Hougat it of a widou ferd, That lufd our Lefdi sa welle, That scho gert mac hir a chapele;

¹ Morris, Specimens of Early English, p. 172. This poem should be compared with the Northern Psalter, at page 317 of my work.

And ilke day denotely. Herd scho messe of our Lefdye. Fel auntour that hir prest was gan His erand, and messe haved scho nan. And com this Candelmesse feste. And scho wald haf als wif honeste Hir messe, and for scho moht get nan. Scho was a ful sorful womman. In hir chapele scho mad praver. And fel on slep bifor the auter. And als scho lay on slep, hir thoght That scho in tyl a kyre was broht, And saw com gret compaynye Of fair maidenes wit a lefedye, And al thai sette on raw ful rathe. And ald men and yong bathe.

LOWLAND SCOTCH.

(About A.D. 1320.)

(Thai) has grantit (and) has letin (the) purtenauncis evin in line thritti wyntir iere bi iere forutin oni mene foluand, that thai sal grind for their fode, (and) sal gif grayting (and) uphalding abute thaim, (and) sal tak fuayl (fram) tha that comis in thair stede, (gif) thai haf mister (of) gres, water, and other richtwis profitis; (thai) sal ger be made (and) be yemit gaynand biging.

¹ These, the oldest Teutonic words written in Scotland that have come down to us, were set down over the Latin words in a Charter of Scone about 1320. See the *Liber de Scon* (Bannatyne Club), p. 104, where a fac-simile of this Charter is given. I have strung the words together as well as I can. There are also the words, four and tuentiand fat (vas); cnaveschipe (servitium); laverdscape (dominium).

LANCASHIRE.

(About A.D. 1350.)

SIR GAWATNE.

Where schulde I wale pe,' quoth Gauan, 'where is py place? I wot never where pou wonyes, by hym pat me wrogt, Ne I know not pe, knygt, py cort, ne pi name. Bot teche me truly perto, & telle me howe pou hattes, & I schal ware all my wyt to wynne me peder, & pat I swere pe for sope, & by my seker trawep.'
'pat is innogh in nwe-zer, hit nedes no more,' Quoth pe gome in pe grene to Gawan pe hende,
'Gif I pe telle triwly, quen I pe tape have,
& pou me smopely hatz smyten, smartly I pe teche
Of my hous, & my home, & myn owen nome,
pen may pou frayst my fare, and forwardez holde,
& if I spende no speche, penne spedez pou pe better,
For pou may leng in py londe, & layt no fyrre,
bot slokes;

Ta now by grymme tole to be, & let se how bou enokez.'
'Gladly, syr, for sobe,'
Quoth Gawan; his ax he strokes.'

SALOP.

(About A.D. 1350.)

WILLIAM AND THE WERWOLF.

Hit tidde after on a time, as tellus oure bokes, As pis bold barn his bestes blypeliche keped,

Morris, Specimens, p. 233. In Alliterative verse obsolete words always abound.

pe riche emperour of Rome rod out for to hunte, In pat faire forest feipely for to telle; Wip alle his menskful meyne, pat moche was & nobul; pan fel it hap, pat pei founde ful sone a grete bor, & huntyng wip hound & horn harde alle sewede; pe emperour entred in a wey evene to attele, To have bruttenet pat bore, & pe abaie seppen, But missely marked he is way & so manly he rides, pat alle his wies were went, ne wist he never whider; So ferforth fram his men, feply for to telle, pat of horn ne of hound ne migt he here sowne, & boute eny living lud lefte was he one.¹

HEREFORDSHIRE.

(About A.D. 1300.)

pilke that nullep ageyn hem stonde Ichulle he habben hem in honde.

He is papejai in pyn that beteth me my bale,
To trewe tortle in a tour, y telle the mi tale,
He is thrustle thryven in thro that singeth in sale,
The wilde laveroc ant wolc ant the wodewale,
He is faucoun in friht dernest in dale,
Ant with everuch a gome gladest in gale,
From Weye he is wisist into Wyrhale,
Hire nome is in a note of the nyhtegale.

In a note is hire nome namenoth hit non

In a note is hire nome, nempueth hit non, Whose ryht redeth roune to Johon.²

¹ Morris, Specimens of Early English, p. 243.

² Percy Society, Vol. IV. 26. See the Preface to this volume, where the writer of this Poem is proved to be a Herefordshire man. He here mentions the Wye. He in this piece stands for heo (illa). The two detached lines at the beginning come from the version of the Harrowing of Hell, in the same manuscript.

WARWICKSHIRE (?).

(About A.D. 1300.)

The kyng sygh, of that cité, That they no myghte duyre: They dasscheth heom in at the gate. And doth hit schutte in hast. The tayl they kyt of hundrodis fyve, To wedde heo lette heore lyve. Theo other into the wallis stych. And the kynges men with gonnes sleygh. Theo cité upon the see stod; And hat is al Alisaundres blod: He het his folk, so a wod wolf, Asaile the cité on the see half. So they dude with myghtly hond. The pore folk of the lond, And ladies bryght in bour, Seyen that heo ne myghten dure. Hy stolen the kayes under their vate; The kyng there hy leten in whate, And fellen aknowe in the strete, Tofore and under his horses fete.1

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

(About A.D. 1300.)

pus come, lo! Engelond into Normannes honde.
 And pe Normans ne coupe speke po bote her owe speche,
 And speke French as dude atom, and here chyldren dude also teche.

So pat heymen of pys lond, pat of her blod come, Holdep alle pulke speche, pat hi of hem nome.

¹ Weber's Metrical Romances, I. 135.

Vor bote a man coupe French, me tolp of hym wel lute. Ac lowe men holdep to Englyss, and to her kunde speche zute. Ich wene per ne be man in world countreyes none, pat ne holdep to her kunde speche, bote Engelond one. Ac wel me wot vorto conne bothe wel yt ys, Vor pe more pat a man con, pe more worp he ys. 1

THE ENGLISH PALE IN IRELAND.

(About A.D. 1310.)

Jhesu, king of heven fre. Ever i-blessid mot thou be! Loverd, I besech the, to me thou tak hede, From dedlich sinne thou zem me. while I libbe on lede: The maid fre, that bere the so swetlich under wede, Do us to se the Trinité, al we habbeth nede. This sang wroat a frere. Jhesu Crist be is socure! Loverd, bring him to the toure! frere Michel Kyldare; Schild him fram helle boure. Whan he sal hen fare! Levedi, flur of al honur, cast awei is care; Fram the schoure of pinis sure Amen.1 thou sild him her and thare!

¹ Hearne's Robert of Gloucester, I. 364.

² Reliquiæ Antiquæ, II. 193. From the Southern dialect of this piece, we might readily gather, even if history did not help us, that the early English settlers in Ireland came, not from Chester, but from Bristol and from ports near Bristol. The Wexford dialect is said to be very like that of Somerset and Dorset.

SOMERSETSHIRE (?).

(About A.D. 1300.)

Wharfore ich and Annas
To-fonge Jhesus of Judas,
vor thrytty panes to paye.
We were wel faste to helle y-wronge,
Vor hym that for zou was y-stonge,
in rode a Godefridaye.

Man, at fullogt, as chabbe yrad,
Thy saule ys Godes hous y-mad,
and tar ys wassche al clene.
Ac after fullougt thorug fulthe of synne,
Sone is mad wel hory wythinne,
alday hit is y-sene.

WILTSHIRE.

(About A.D. 1320.)

Four tounes ther beoth of bras, Al for sothe thus hit was; Feole thinges ther beth ynne, Craftilich ymad with gynne, Quic brumston and other alsuo, With wylde fur ymad therto, Salgemme and salpetre, Salarmoniac ther ys eke, Salnitre that ys briht.

Berneth bothe day and nyth.

¹ Reliquiæ Antiquæ, II. 242. The chabbe (ich habbe) reminds us of Edgar's dialect in Lear, and of the Somersetshire Ballads in Percy's Reliques. The word bad (malus) occurs in this piece, which made its first appearance in the Cursor Mundi: it is also found in Robert of Gloucester and the Handlyng Synne.

This ve in the tonnes vdon, Ant other thinges moni on. Berneth bothe nyht and day, Ah never quenchen hit ne may. In four sprunges the tonnes liggeth, Ase this philosophres suggeth, The hete withvune, water withoute, Maketh hot al aboute. The two sprunges urneth vfere: Ah the other tuo beth more clere; Therof vs maked, ful ywis, That kyngesbathe yeleped ys.1

HAMPSHIRE.

(About A.D. 1350.)

Everych sullere of bred in be heyzestrete of Wynchestre, pat is out of fraunchyse, shal to be kynge to custome, by he zere, twey shullynges, and to he clerk a peny, zif he sellep meche by zere; and zif he sellep lasse, upon he quantite. And at oher stretes, sex pans oher pre, oppon pt handworke is. And dop to wetynge, pt non of hem ne sholde fecche here bred, but pere pe lapen stondep, upon peyne of he amercy of he byggere and of pe sellere, to fore pe tyme of none. And pat non of hem ne fecche no bred of non bakere whanne hii ne mowe habbe no warant; and gif hii do, pat hem self hyt And pat everych bakere habbe hys seal y-knowe upon hys loff, pat he ne mowe wipsegge zif he is oftake oper pan weel.2

¹ This piece particularly mentions Bath, Malmsbury, Laycock, and Devizes. I think it may be put down to Wiltshire. It is in Ritson's Romances, II. 277.

² Old usages of Winchester, English Gilds, p. 355; Early English

OXFORDSHIRE.

(About A.D. 1340.)

That is fro old Hensislade ofre the cliff into stony londy wey; fro the wey into the long lowe; fro the lowe into the Port-strete; fro the strete into Charewell; so aftir strem til it shutt eft into Hensislade—De Bolles, Couele, et Hedyndon. Thare beth hide londeymere into Couelee. Fro Charwell brigge andlong the streme on that rithe. . . . This privilege was idith in Hedington . . . myn owne mynster in Oxenford. There seint Frideswide . . . alle that fredome that any fre mynstre frelubest . . . mid sake and mid socna, mid tol and mid teme . . . and in felde and alle other thinge and ryth that y . . . belyveth and bid us for quike and dede and . . . alle other bennyfeyt.

KENT.

(A.D. 1340.)

Aye pe vondigges of pe dyeule zay pis pet volzep. 'Zuete Jesu pin holy blod pet pou sseddest ane pe rod vor me and vor mankende: Ich bidde pe hit by my sseld

Text Society. These usages seem to have been compiled about 1350; the document is the most valuable thing in the whole of the thick volume relating to Gilds. We here see what Standard English would have been, had not London supplanted the older capital of England. The meche reminds us of Alfred's swelc and hwelc.

¹ Kemble, Codex Dipl. III. 329. This Charter is a late forgery, and seems much damaged. The proper names in it will be recognised by Oxford men.

avoreye he wycked vend al to mi lyves ende. zuo by hit.'

pis boc is Dan Michelis of Northgate y-write an Englis of his ozene hand, pet hatte: Ayenbite of inwyt. And is of pe boc-house of saynt Austines of Canterberi, mid pe lettres: C: C:

M. C. C. Saynt Gabriel and Raphael.
Ye brenge me to po castel.
Per alle zaulen varep wel.

Lhord Jhesu almizti kyng. þet madest and lokest alle þyng. Me þet am þi makyng. to þine blisse me þou bryng. Ámen.

Blind and dyaf and alsuo domb. Of zeventy yer al vol rond.

Ne ssolle by drage to pe grond. Vor peny vor Mark ne vor pond.

MIDDLESEX.

(A.D. 1307.)

Of Syr Edward oure derworth kyng,
Ich mette of him anothere faire metyng.
Me thought he rood upon an asse,
And that ich take God to witnesse;
Ywonden he was in a mantell gray,
Toward Rome he nom his way.
Upon his hevede sate a gray hure,
It semed him wel a mesure.

Into a chapel I cum of ure lefdy, Jhe Crist her leve son stod by, On rod he was an loveliche mon,

¹ Ayenbite of Inwyt (Early English Text Society), page 1. Here we must read s for z, sh for ss, and f for v.

Als thilk that on rode was don. He unneled his honden two.

Whoso wil speke myd me Adam the marchal In Stretforde Bowe he is yknown and over al. Iche ne schewe nougt this for to have mede, Bot for God almigtties drede.¹

BEDFORDSHIRE (?).

(About A.D. 1340.)

Godys sone pat was so fre,
Into pis world he cam,
And let hym naylyn upon a tre,
Al for pe love of man;
His fayre blod pat was so fre,
Out of his body it ran,
A dwelful sygte it was to se;
His body heng blak and wan,
Wip an O and an I.

His coroune was mad of jorn
And prikkede into his panne,
Bothe byhinde and a-forn;
To a piler y-bowndyn
Jhesu was swije sore,
And suffrede many a wownde
pat scharp and betere wore.
He hadde us evere in mynde,

Warton, History of English Poetry, II. 2. This London dialect was to be somewhat altered before the time of Mandeville and Chancer. The thilk (ille) held its ground in this city for 140 years longer. Compare this piece with the older London poem at page 300 of my work.

In al his harde prowe, And we ben so unkynde, We nelyn hym nat yknowe, Wip an O and an L1

NORFOLK.2

(1329.)

This ys ye statuz of ye gylde of ye holy apostyl sente peter, bygunnyn in ye toune of Lenne, in ye wrchepe of god and of oure lavedi sente marie, and of ye holy apostyl sente peter, in ye yere of our lord MCCCXX. nono. And yis gyld schal have foure morne-spechis in ye yer . . . And quoso be somund to any morne-speche, and he be in toune, and wyl not come, ne make non aturne for hym, he schal a peny to ye lythe . . . And ordevnid it is, yt ye catel of ys gyld ye alderman schal delyvere to ye skeveynis, be sufficient borus to bryngyn ye catel ageine. . . And ye dene schal have, for is travalye in ye zere, vi.d.

Zis is ye verye copy of ye gylde of sent Petyr ye apostyle, holdyn in Lene aforeseyde, wrytyn on ye feste of seynte hillari, Anno Domini millesimo CCCo octogesimo octavo.

1 Legends of the Holy Rood (Early English Text Society, p. 150). This piece seems to me to be the link between Manning's Handlyng Sunne and Mandeville's Travels sixty years later. It has forms akin to both, and seems to have been compiled half-way between Rutland and Middlesex.

² English Gilds (Early English Text Society), p. 62. We here see the East Anglian quo for who; in other Norfolk papers of the Century, we find arn (sunt) and everilka (quisque), kirke, sal, offrende, uphald, toy (dno).

We see what wild anarchy of speech was raging throughout the length and breadth of England in the first half of the Fourteenth Century; and this anarchy had lasted more than two hundred years, simply because the old Standard had been swept away by foreign conques. But at the same time we plainly see that the dialect of the shires nearest to Rutland was the dialect to which our own classic speech of 1877 is most akin. and that Robert of Brunne in 1303 was leading the way to something new. In another work I hope to weigh the causes that led to the triumph of Robert's dialect, though his triumph was not thoroughly achieved until a hundrel and sixty years after he began his great work. Strange his that Dante should have been compiling his Inferno, wich settled the course of Italian literature for ever, i the selfsame years that Robert of Brunne was compiled the earliest pattern of well-formed New English. Fad King Henry the Eighth known what we owe to this lard, the Lincolnshire men would not have been rated in 1536 as follows: 'How presumptuous are ve, the rude emmons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm, and of least experience!'1

I talk of th dialect of the 'Rutland neighbourhood;' this takes in LeicesterStamford, Peterborough, and Brunne; a fact to be borne in mind.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INROAD OF FRENCH WORDS INTO ENGLAND.

Cloth of gold, do not despise, Though thou be matched with cloth of friese. Cloth of friese, be not too bold, Though thou be matched with cloth of gold.

The nearer we approach 1303, the more numbrous become the French words upon which the right o English citizenship was being bestowed. In the hirteenth Century was made the greatest change that ever played havock with our tongue. A baleful Century it was, when we look to English philology; though a ight noble Century in its bearing on English politics and English architecture. The last word suggests a conparison: if we may liken our language to a fine stone building, we shall find that in that wondrous age a swenth part of the good old masonry was thrown down as if by an earthquake, and was withdrawn from motal ken. The breach was by slow degrees made good with bricks, meaner ware borrowed from France; ad since those times the work of destruction and repeation has gone on, though to a lesser extent than befor. We may put

¹ It is not, I need hardly say, the words usl by us in common: with the Frisians, that I should call 'cloth of fiese.'

up with the building as it now stands, but we cannot help sighing when we think of what we have lost.

Of old, no country was more thoroughly national than England: of all Teutonic lands she alone set down her annals, year after year, in her own tongue; and this went on for three Centuries after Alfred began to reign. But the grim year 1066, the weightiest year that England has seen for the last twelve centuries, has left its mark deeply graven both on our history and on our speech. Every time almost that we open our lips or write a sentence, we bear witness to the mighty change wrought in England by the Norman Conqueror. Celt, Saxon, Angle, and Dane alike had to bow their necks beneath a grinding foreign yoke. It is in English poetry that we can trace the earliest change. Poetry always clings fast to old words, long after they have been dropped by prose; and this was the case in England before the Conquest. If we take a piece of Old English prose, say the tales translated by Alfred, or Ælfric's Homilies, or a chapter of the Bible, we shall find that we keep to this day three out of four of all the Nouns, Adverbs, and Verbs employed by the old writer; but of the Nouns, Adverbs, and Verbs used in any English poem, from the Beowulf to the Song on Edward the Confessor's death, about half have dropped for ever. From Harold's death to John's grant of the Charter, English prose did not let many old words slip. But it was far otherwise with England's old poetic diction, which must have been artificially kept up, for long before 1066. Of all the weighty words 1 used in the Song on the Confessor's

¹ Substantives, Adjectives, Adverbs, and Verbs, I call 'weighty

death, as nearly as possible half have dropped out of our speech. In the poems written a hundred years after the Conquest, say the rimes on the Lord's Prayer published by Dr. Morris, the proportion of words of weight, now obsolete, is one-fifth of the whole, much as it is in English prose of that same date. In the poem of 1066, nearly fifty out of a hundred of these words are clean gone; in the poem of 1160, only twenty out of a hundred of these words cannot now be understood. think it may be laid down, that of all the poetic words employed by English Makers, nearly one-third passed away within a hundred years of the Battle of Hastings. Henry of Huntingdon makes laughable mistakes, when he tries to turn into Latin the old English lay on Brunanburgh fight, though its words must have been in the mouths of poets only fourscore years before his time. English poetry could not thrive without patrons; and these, the Abbots and Aldermen that thronged the Winchester Court of old, had been swept away to make room for menthat cared only for the speech of Rouen and Paris. The old Standard of English died out: if Chronicles were written at Peterborough, or Homilies still farther to the South, they were compiled in corrupt English, at which Bede or Alfred would have stared. As to English poetry, its history for one hundred years is all but a blank. Old legends of England's supposed history, it

words;' they may alter, while the other parts of speech (except Interjections) hardly change at all. I cannot see the use of counting, as Marsh does, every of and the and him, in order to find out the proportion of home-born English in different authors.

Morris, Early English Homilies, First Series, I. 55 (Early English Text Society). I gave a specimen at page 170.

is true, such as those that bear on Arthur or Havelok, were dressed up in verse; but the verse was French, for thus alone could the minstrel hope that his toil would be rewarded. In 1066, England's King was praised in good ringing English lines, that may have been shouted by boisterous wassailers around the camp fires on the eve of Hastings: sixty years later, England's Queen was taught natural history in French verse, and was complimented therein as being 'mult bele femme, Aliz numée.' Little more than a hundred years after the battle of Hastings, an English writer gave the names of the wise English teachers of old, Bede, Cuthbert, Dunstan, and others; he then complained how woefully times were changed—new lords, new lore:

[Nu is] peo leore forleten.
and pet folc is forloren.
nu beop opre leoden.
peo læ[rep] ure folc.
and feole of pen lorpeines losiæp.
and pat folc forp mid.²

What was it that supplanted the old lore, thus forsaken by this forlorn folk? We naturally turn to the Chronicle, as the earliest record of the change referred to. It is easy to understand why the French word castel should be used for a much-hated foreign building.³

¹ Wright, Popular Treatises on Science, p. 74.

² Page 5 of the Worcester Manuscript, referred to at p. 200 of this work.

³ About 1200, Orrmin uses castell in one and the same page (II. 277) in two senses. He first applies it to a village, that of Salim, following the Latin of the Gospels, a sense in vogue with us long before the Norman Conquest. He then applies it to a fortress,

But why should the Chronicler of the year 1066 write the outlandish corona, instead of the old cinehelm, that had been good enough for all our Kings up to these times? 1 Its new wearer is called Wyllelm Bastard, in that awful year. Englishmen soon got into the way of using needless French words, which supplanted their own old terms. The ancient cweartern makes way for prisun in 1076. The utterly unneeded French word beandon comes in the Peterborough Chronicle for 1069. French and English Nouns are compounded, to form castelmenn in 1067. In 1079, a soldier is shot with an arblast. A little later, we hear of the munster æt pære Bataille (Battle Abbey), hallowed in 1094; three years more bring us to the wall built by Rufus about the Tûr in London; the old form torr, a relic of the Romans, was making way for a new French form. The first French Verb, naturalised by taking an English ending, was dubbade, in the year 1086; we next find acordedan in the year 1119; démobiliser is, I think, the last French Verb that we have admitted to the rights of citizenship; it recalls our watching the Russians on the Pruth early in 1877.

It is curious to mark the changes of foreign words in the Chronicle. The Filippus of 1075 becomes Philippe in 1087; the Francice of 1085 becomes France in that same 1087. The Ungerland of 1057 is seen as Hungrie in 1096. We get some idea of the old French

which we ought to build against the Devil; this is the later French sense.

¹ Corona, however, had been used in the Lindisfarne Gospels for our Lord's crown of thorns.

pronunciation, when we find Englishmen writing Baius. Ou, Peitevin, Alvearnie, Mortoin, Angeow, Blais, Puntiw. for well-known French proper names. In the Bunan (Boulogne) of 1096, a relic of the old form Benonia still remains: in the same year Gosfrei shows us the earliest English form of our Godfrey. A Vowel-sound, new to English ears, is first heard in the account of that year: the Crusaders tarry in Puille; this is the Normans' way of sounding Apulia, the rich land conquered by them sixty years earlier. It might have been written Poille, for the two forms Corboil and Corbuil are found in the Chronicle. The old Sexlande of 1129 becomes Alamanie thirty years later; the Heanrig of 1105 appears as Henri in 1107; rather earlier, we hear of Flandres and Nativiteo. The months of the year lose their old Latin form; in 1097 comes August; and rather later, Maies monde, Junies monde, and Julies monde. The form Johan (John) is found in 1114. The names of Saints, if in common use, were shorn of their Latin endings; in 1087, we hear of the Abbot of St. Augustine; two years later, of Martines mæssan (Martinmas); here there is no Saint prefixed; in 1098, we read of the Abbot on See Ædmund; here the byrig is suppressed. The word evangelista, applied to St. Luke in 1119, shows the first inroad of the foreign ist, which now too often supplants the true Old English er; some choose to write philologist, instead of philologer, and I suppose astrologist will soon be reckoned the correct thing. About 1120, we had begun to prefer French forms to the older Latin; for in the Homilies of that time, we find iscole written for the former scôlu.

The Old French must always command earnest attention from a student of English, and we have a fine specimen of the language that was fashionable at King Henry the First's Court about 1120. Philip de Thaun's works have been printed by Mr. Wright ('Popular Treatises on Science, pp. 20 to 131).1 We here find such good old forms as, Damnes-Dés (Dominus Deus), meis (mensis), praier, Cristien, salveur, pronounced like the present French salviour, one of the many French sounds that England has preserved more faithfully than France herself. The sound of the old oi may be easily guessed, when we find both croiz and cruiz, Join and Junie; there is also buil, which the French usually wrote boil; poi stands for the modern peu; bloie for bleu. In Doomsday Book, the English Cruland (Crowland) appears as Croiland and Cruiland. The French have kept the true old sound of the oi in jouir; they have lost it in joie. We must have recourse to Littre's noble French Dictionary, if we would know the old sound of oi or oy in French and English. Reculer and recoil were once pronounced alike. When we compare the Latin bullire and bouillir, its present corruption in Northern France, we may safely say that the u or ou was pronounced in the first syllable of the word from first Yet the word was written boil by French authors in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century; the oi was therefore one way of writing u or ou; it came to England soon after the Conquest; we have already seen Hollant written for whate is now Hulland.

¹ In a work on English, it is better to examine this poem of about 1120, than to go back to earlier French poems, such as the Hymn of St. Eulalie of 900, or the Legends of 1050.

Of all the corruptions of Northern Gaul, none is more astounding than that of aqua into what is now pronounced as o. In the present work, p. 45, we see that acva, aca has already become ève, as sequi, sequere became suivre; a further step is taken in p. 36, where we find the Plural ewes, for v was often confounded with u or w; in this shape the word came to England, and was written ewe in 1320, whence comes our ewer. The confusion between o and u is seen, for Rume replaces Rome; nune stands for none (noon). In p. 42. quod becomes que, and two lines onward qui becomes ki. We see the insertion of b in number and trembler. In p. 75, there is both the old demonstrance and the new demustre; we English have both monstrance and muster. coming from the same Latin word. Filius has already become fiz, p. 83; and a few lines later, David loses its last letter in the Scotch fashion. Carnem is seen both as carn and charn; horas loses its first letter, and is written wres (hours); we English write this h, but do not sound it. In p. 124, there is both hume and ume (homo). Baptize, in p. 109, was perhaps the first word in ize that was adopted in England; the outlandish ending is now far too common. Tirant takes the intrusive t at the end. We see the confusion between the letters u and v, for the old Judeu and the new Juev. p. 124, are both found; the form Jueu was adopted in England, while France held to Juev, afterwards Juif. We have treated lieutenant in exactly the contrary way. Quarré (carré) is written in p. 75; hence our quarry, where we keep the old French sound.

We have seen Damnes (dominus); when this word

was used of a man, it became danz, p. 37; and the word Dan was applied to monks in England, down to the Reformation. We find, en vain, verei, remanant, Parais (Paradise), bruise, cors, Ynde, deservir, gravel, cuint (quaint), mave (mavis), sa per (his peer, equal), richeises. Tei and sei are written, not toi and soi. Estre stands for a Substantive, and led the way to our being. Defendre (p. 112), already stands for veture. Juste is used in p. 84 for prope; it was employed later in England for even. The favourite Interjection Deus is in p. 21. Prise (prize) is in p. 76; we have now but one word in English for both astimare and navis capta. Magister was always of old connected with learning; hence in p. 86, maistrie stands for scientia, a meaning it long conveyed in England; in France, it further expressed dominium at this time. In p. 94 we see both of the forms for venari, cacher and chacer; whence our catch and chace; the hard c comes from Picardy, the soft ch from Burgundy; chastel is in the Song of Roland of the Eleventh Century, and lasted in this shape for five hundred years in France.1

The speech of the English castle and the English hovel for two hundred years after 1066 was almost as distinct as the Arve and the Rhône are when they first meet. We see, however, that a few French words very early found their way into English. A shrewd observer long ago told us how ox, sheep, and swine came to be called beef, mutton, and pork, when smoking on the board. Treading in his steps, I venture to guess how our bluff forefathers began their studies in the French

¹ See the word in Littre's Dictionary.

tongue. We may imagine a cavalcade of the new aristocracy of England, ladies and knights, men that perhaps fought at Hastings in their vonth: these alight from their steeds at the door of one of the churches. that have lately arisen throughout the land in a style unknown to Earl Godwine. The riders are accosted by a crowd of beggars and bedesmen, who put forth all their little stock of French: 'Lady Countess, clad in ermine and sabeline, look from thy palfrey. Be large of thy treasure to the poor and feeble; of thy charity bestow thy riches on us. We will put up our orisons for thee, after the manere and custom of our religion. Ease our poverty in some measure; that is the best penance, as thy chaplain in his sermon says. By all the Prophets, Confessors, Patriarchs, and Virgins, show ns mercy. Feed us from thy rents and garners, chasten the glutenerie of jogelours, and sew (follow) after Paradise.' Another speech would run thus: Worthy Baron, thou hast honour at Court; speak for my son in prison. Let him have justice; he is no robber or lecher, that men should blame him. The sergeants waited for him in the market; he paid them nothing, so these catchpoles have wrought him sore miseise behind the bars. Mend all this; so Christ accord thee veace at the day of livreison!' A priest would talk learnedly of the frut of the sacramens, the archangles, absolucion, the miracles, the processiun to the sepulcre, the feste of the Circumcisiun, the tables of the Law, the tapers to be lighted; and he would explain the Crede. The word Baptist, with its strange ending, would become familiar.¹ Not one of these sixty French words was in English use before the battle of Hastings; but we find every one of them set down in writing within little more than a century after that date, so common had they then become in English mouths.² Those of the needy, who knew but little French, must have learnt at least how to bawl for justice, charity, mercy, on seeing their betters. The first letter of the word justice shows that a new French sound was taking root in England. The words Emperice and mercy, used in these times, brought in new hissing sounds; the s in English came already quite often enough.

In the Homilies of 1160 we trace a new change. Foreign proper names had hitherto for the most part unbendingly maintained their Latin form in England. They were now being corrupted, owing to French influence; at pages 47 and 49 we find mention of Seint Gregori. At page 9 we see both the old form fole of Indeus and the new form pe Giwis (Jews). Maria and Jacobus now become Marie and Jame. French words were being brought in most needlessly; thus we read at page 51, 'crabbe is an manere (kind) of fissee.'

In the Essex Homilies, the French is seen elbowing out the Latin from proper names. Andreas and Mattheus become Andrea and Matheu. What was of old written leo is turned into leun (lion); almesse into almes;

² They may be found in the Saxon Chronicle and in the Series of Homilies (Early English Text Society).

We have already seen Evangelist. Now and then a French word puzzles an English scribe; thus barrage is written for baraine (barren), in the Essex Homilies, p. 133.

marma into marbelstone (page 145). Deciple replaces the old learning knight; it had appeared as discipul in the Lindisfarne Gospels. An intruding letter is seen in common words; mazere is found at page 163. This z did not become common in England for nearly three hundred years.1 Layamon wrote his long poem the Brut about 1205; but, though this was mainly a translation from the French, he seldom employs a French word, and hardly ever without good reason. In this poem we find Admiral, astronomy, hue (in our phrase hue and cry), messagere, montaine, nonne, pilgrim, image.2 We have seen that elep-has was known to our fathers as ulp. Layamon borrows a new form, olifant, from the French; the older English form of the word lasted down to 1230, the later French form to 1550, about which time the eagerness for classic learning changed Skelton's olifant into elephant, as we see in Udall's well-known play. Thus, within little more than two centuries, we in England employed three different forms of one Latin word. Layamon sometimes writes clarc instead of clerc, and we have followed his pronunciation; Darby, instead of Derby, had come earlier.

Orrmin is even more Teutonic than Layamon in his scorn of outlandish words. About this time, the days of King John, one fifth of the weighty words in a passage are such as have become obsolete in our days. Under John's grandson, this proportion was to be weefully altered. The only thing that could have kept up

^{&#}x27; See the 'Paston Letters' (Gairdner), I. 510.

² I have mentioned here only the most common of Layamon's words, borrowed from the French; he has many other foreign terms.

a purely Teutonic speech in England would have been some version of the Bible, a standard of the best English of the year 1200. But this was not to be; Pope Innocent III. and his Prelates had no mind to furnish laymen with weapons that might be so easily turned She was widely different now against the Church. from what she had been in the days of those old translators, Bede and Aldhelm. Orrmin himself tells us that many found fault with him for bringing Scripture truth down to the level of the common folk. We have missed much; had he given us a good version of the Scriptures, accepted over all England, our tongue would have had the present flexibility of the New English, and would have kept the power of compounding new words out of her own stores, the power that belonged to the Old English.

We may now glance at the Hali Meidenhad, about 1210; a few French words in it may be here mentioned. The word trukian is used not only in its Old English sense (deficere), whence comes truckle, but also to express the French troquer, whence comes the truck system. The foreign beast had become so common, that the Adverb beasteliche (p. 9), was formed. As to this word, I may remark that the Irish have kept its true pronunciation, which has been dropped by France and England. Cæsar brought his Italian bestia to the Seine; William brought his beste to the Thames; and Strongbow's soldiery brought beste (bayste) to the Liffey. France has dropped the Consonant s, England has corrupted the sound of the Vowel e, but Ireland keeps the word just as it was first given to her. This is a good

instance of the way that an outlying colony will keep words and sounds dropped by the parent country; this was remarked of the Irish Pale by shrewd observers in Elizabeth's days. The same observation holds good of the American Colonies in our own time.\(^1\) The old profian now takes a new sense; hitherto it had meant 'to try;' at p. 23 it means 'to make clear;' a third sense, 'to turn out,' was to come fourscore years later. One French word, now always in our mouths, may be seen in p. 41; omnino is there Englished by al cwite. Sometimes a writer would turn his English into French; thus in Sawles Warde, p. 247, stands, 'mete, pat me meosure hat.'

The Ancren Riwle, written about 1220, is the fore-runner of a wondrous change in our speech. The proportion of Old English words, now obsolete, is therein much the same as it is in the writings of Orrmin and Layamon. But the new work swarms with French words, brought in most needlessly. What could we want with such terms as cuntinuelement, Deuleset (God knows), belami, misericorde, and cogitaciun? The author is even barbarous enough to give us the French sulement, where we should now write only. I set down a shor sample, underlining the foreign words. 'Heo weren itented, and puruh pe tentaciuns ipreoved to treowe champiuns, and so mid rihte ofserveden kempene crune.'2

¹ The nous sommes of Paris keeps far nearer to the nos sumus of old Rome than the noi siamo of New Rome does. So also the somos of Madrid.

² Page 236 of the Camden Society's edition. I have not underlined *proved*, as that foreign word was in English use before the Norman Conquest.

Many a word, embodied in the English Bible and Prayerbook three hundred years later, is now found for the first time in our tongue. These words were accented in the French way, on the last French syllable; the usage held its ground for four hundred years. Indeed, it still rules us when we pronounce *urbane* and *divine*.

As to Vowels, the French au is much employed to produce the broad sound of a, as saumple, haunche, araunce; all that love pure English should sound the a in these words as broadly as in father.2 We see bame and sauter; in these an l is dropped. The e of the Chronicle becomes a in Amperur (emperor), p. 244. The ea was the favourite way of writing the French sound ê all through the South West of England; one copy of the Ancren Riwle has beast for the French beste, p. 58. The foreign oi is sounded like the French ou or ou-e; in the Ancren Riwle, the oi has not the sound of the French é, as in Moretoin. What is written angoise in p. 212 appears as anguise (anguish) in p. 110. In p. 94 anui (annoyance) appears in one copy, annu in another; a third has ennui.3 Noise is first found in p. 66; creoice (crucem) comes often, though it could not drive out the Danish kross; we still keep the old sound of the French on in crusade. It was not till about 1290 that oi was commonly used in England to express the French ê.

² I know some people, well educated, who sound bath something like bay-eth; a horrible travesty of a fine old sound.

One of these words, accented in the French way, is preserved in the old rimes, 'Mistress Mary, quite contrâry.'

³ How few suspect that annoy and ennui are but two forms of one word? the first form lasted down to 1400 in France.

As to Consonants: new (horæ) is written without the h. Delit is written without the gh, which we long afterwards inserted, to imitate the Latin delector. The old regula, a Benedictine word, had hitherto been written regol in England; we were now to throw aside the Latin for the French, and to write it rivele (rule). Three hundred years later, Tyndale was to bring in regiment (imperium): our physicians have long talked of a regimen; and in our day, the British penny-a-liner writes regime for what in 1860 was called rule, government, or system. Here are five different forms, coming from the old rego, applied to common life, as distinguished from royalty. The old capitle, founded on the Latin, was written in Norfolk down to 1440; but in the Ancren Riwle the French form cheapitre (chapter) is adopted. The French corruption of capitale is seen in p. 224 as chetel (chattels); the other form cuttle was not set apart for beasts until after 1400; we may also talk of capital. In p. 42 we see the stages in the corruption of a well-known word, antiphona, antempne, antefne; anthem was to come later. When we find forms like lescuns and noblesce, we see the source of such forms as scion. We long kept the Old French quarrel (bolt); we remark in p. 62 the more corrupt form quarreau, pronounced like quarriou. When we find cruelte in the Ancren Riwle, we see at once that Englar has often kept Old French words in a purer form than France herself has done. Awaitie in p. 174 shows us how strongly the u in aguetter was once pronounced in

¹ In my youth, we talked of the Feudal System; the apes of sham refinement now talk of the Feudal Régime, which would have astonished Hallam.

France; the form ouaitter still lingers in Lorraine. The Willelm and reliquice of the Chronicle now become Willam, p. 340, and relikes, p. 18; Latin was thrown aside for French.

Among the Substantives, we find rute (via), belami (long a familiar English term of greeting), deinte, Giwerie (Jewry), which shows how g came to be softened in English. The French Verbs give birth to English Verbal Nouns, as in his departunge, p. 250. We see make drupic chere (vultus), p. 88; in ancre persone (in an anchorite's person), p. 126; trusseau and trusse stand for bundles in p. 168; dame is used for mother. The inroad that French was to make even into the English Paternoster is foreshadowed; in p. 26 dimitte nobis debita nostra is-Englished by 'forgif us ure dettes, al so as we vorgive? to ure detturs.' We still pronounce these words in the French way, though hundreds of years later we imitated the Latin, when writing them. Many technical terms of religion come in, as silence and wardein. We light upon spitel (hospital) and mester (ars), afterwards corrupted into mystery, a confusion with a well-known Greek word. There is givegou (gewgaw) and beaubelet (bauble).

Among the Adjectives is folherdi. We must turn to p. 316, if we would know the source of make a fool of myself; we there find ich habbe ibeon fol of me sulven be me ipso). In p. 46 we hear of 'a large creoiz;' shows that the Adjective was adding the meaning magnus to that of prodigus. At p. 202 we see the source of our phrase, 'he is but a poor creature'; for the term cowardice is there said to embrace the poure iheorted. In p. 192 may be found the phrase gentile

wummen. Long before the Norman Conquest foreign words had been forced to take English endings before they could be naturalised, as beelysan and regollice; in the Ancren Riwle, French Adjectives have to take the English signs of comparison, as larger and tendrust.

Among the Verbs is entermeten (meddle), p. 172, a word well known in Scotland; also fail, lace, and cry. This French crier is now beginning to drive out the Old English gridan.

If it be true, as some tell us, that the mingling of the Teutonic and Romance in our tongue make 'a happy marriage,' we see in the author of the Ancren Riwle the man that first gave out the banns. He was, it would seem, a Bishop, well grounded in all the lore that Paris or Rome could teach: and he strikes us as rather too fond of airing his French and Latin before the good ladies, on whose behalf he was writing. For sixty years, no Englishman was bold enough to imitate the Prelate's style of composition.

One curious effect, due to the new French words, must be pointed out. I have already said that crier was driving out gridan: these kindred words are often found alongside each other in this Century; and, unhappily, it is usually the French one that has held its ground. It is now and then hard to tell whether some of our commonest words are home-born or of French growth, so great is the confusion between the Teutonic words brought to the Thames by Hengist, and the kindred words brought to the Seine by Clovis and afterwards borne across the Channel by William the Conqueror. The kinsmanship in meaning and sound must have bespoken a welcome in England for many of these French strangers that follow.

110202	,	Teutonic.	Romance.
Teutonic.	Romance.		
Abeatan	Abattre	Cuppa	Coupe
A.cofrian	Recouvrir	Dareð	Dard
Affæred	Affraie	Deman	Damner
Alecgan	Aloyer	Eap	Eise
Ange	Anguisse	Fâcen	Feign
Astundian	Estonner	Feoh	Fief
Befûlan	Defouler	Feorme	Ferme
Beom	Baron	Feorren	Forain
Bigalian	Guiler	Fersc	Fraiche
Biwrezen	Bitraie	Fîn	Fin
Blæ (blue)	Bloie	Fladra (Old	Flatter
Blencan (blench	ı)Fléchir	Norse)	
	(flinch)	Flatr (Icelandic)Plat
Bord	Borde	Frakele	Fraile
Band	Bounde	Gæta (Ice-	Guetter
Bolle	Boule	landic)	
Brand	Brande	Gafol	Gabelle
Brêc	Brêche	Gagn (Icelandic	() Gagner
Bregdan	Broder	Geard	Gardin
Bricke (Old	Brique	Gemæne	Commune
Dutch)	1	Gesamnian	Assembler
Brysan	Bruiser	Gote	Gouttière
Buskr (Old	Bosche	Gridan	Crier
Norse)		Hâm	Hameau
Burgher	Burgeis	Hasti	Hastif
Butten (Old	Bouter	Hatian	Hadir ¹
Dutch)		Healsbeorga	Hauberc
Cempa	Champioun	Heard	Hardi
Ceosan	Choisir	Hereberg	Herbier
Cnif	Canif	Hreinsa (Old	Rincer
Cocer	Cuivre	Norse)	
Cost (Old Dute		Hrothgar	\mathbf{Roger}
2000/0222000	-,	, -	-

¹ The Teutonic words in French are mostly High German; but hadir (odisse), now hair, is an exception; it is plainly derived from the Low German; from hatian, not from hassen. The Franks lived on the border between the two great forms of German speech.

Teutonic.	Romance.	Teutonic.	Romance.
Hurlen	\mathbf{H} areler	Sinder	Cendre
Hurten	Hurter	Solian	Soillier
Irre	${ m Ire}$	Spendan	Despender
Isila (High Ger- man)	- Isle	Speja (Ice- landic)	Espier
Lafian	Laver	Spillan	Spuiller
Laga	Lei	Staðol	Estable
Lagu	Lac	Stedja (Ice-	Staier
Line	Ligne	landic)	
Logian	Loger	Stoppan	Estufer
Mænigu	Mainê	Stræc	Estreit
Mearc	Marche	Strip	Estrif
Mersc	Marais	Strudan	Destruir
Miðla (Ice-	\mathbf{Mesler}	Syfer	Sobre
landic)		Targen	Targier
Murþer	Meurtre	Targe	Targe
Nefe	Neveu	Teld	Tent
\mathbf{Nesh}	Nice	Trahtnian	Traiter
$\mathbf{Pearroc}$	Parc	Trumpe (Ice-	Trompe
Pine	Peine	landic)	r
Pocc	Poche	Tumba (Old	Tomber
Priss (Icelandic) Pris	Norse)	
Ræt	Rat	Turnan	Tourner
Ring	Rang	Wæven	Weiver
\mathbf{Reaf}	Robe	Weardan	Guarder
Reafian	\mathbf{Ravir}	Wearnian	Guarnir
Ric	Riche	Weddian	Gager
$\mathbf{R}_{\mathbf{y}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{e}}$	Robeor	Westan	Guaster
Scærn	Escornir	Wimpel (Old	Guimple
Sceoh	Eschuir	Dutch)	•
Seam	Sumpter	Wise	Guise
Secan, sechen	Sercher	Wyrre	Guerre
Siker	Secure		

We further see the English er and the French ier alike used as endings, and the English mis employed as a prefix side by side with the French més. The English in answers to the French en. In the Ancren Riwle we find kunsiler (councillor), bestly, ungracius. French and English endings and prefixes begin to jostle each other; in the Wohung of our Lord, we find both debonairté and debonairship.

Some of the terms, in the long list set out pp. 506-7, have an obvious resemblance to each other; but it may be doubted whether the best philologers alive at this time—whether even Giraldus Cambrensis or Roger Bacon, suspected that the French dame was akin to the English tamer, and that ad and at, pour and for, were but different forms of one old word. The year 1220 is a turning-point; not only did shoals of French words effect a lodgement in the English of the Ancren Riwle, but many French idioms were transferred into the English Life of St. Catherine.

The Old English poetic word-store, a luxury that must have been unknown to the great mass of the nation, had passed away immediately after the Conquest; the Old English prose kept its old words and its power of compounding fairly well (except in the neighbourhood of East Anglia), long after 1200. The reason is, that all through the hundred and fifty years after the Conquest, some degree of cultivation had been bestowed upon the language. The mighty William, his son, and his great-grandson, sometimes worded their Charters in English. They were statesmen in the highest sense of the term; they had none of that vulgar and overbearing spirit that finds its choicest trophy in sweeping away an

¹ Some of these are set out by Hickes, *Thesaurus*, I. 15. In one Charter, about 1160, eow (vos) is written zeau; this seems to show that the French eau had then the sound of their modern iou, and explains how we came by bewty.

old language; this brutish style of despotism was reserved for the masters of Poland and Lithuania in the days of railways and telegraphs.

In the England of the Twelfth Century, religion did not lag behind statecraft. More than one version of the Gospels was put forth in the English of 1150; and in the same way Ælfric's Homilies were altered so as to suit more modern hearers; this went on, as we have seen, all through the Twelfth Century. King Henry II. himself, though he was anything but an Englishman. seems to have understood English, as we learn from a well-known tale in Giraldus. About this time the English Chronicle was copied out at Canterbury, and the old inflections were preserved in writing, if not in common speech. From 1200 to 1220, a vast quantity of English, both prose and verse, was given to the public. Orrmin and others were the champions of religion: Lavamon undertook to handle history, according to his lights. A brilliant future seemed to be in store for our tongue in 1220; much pains was being bestowed upon its cultivation: if it could outlive the Norman Conquest, it need fear nothing; so at least we might have deemed. But affairs took a very different turn; English was thrust back, at the moment it seemed about to recover the ground lost a hundred and fifty years earlier. The next sixty years are the most disastrous in our history, from a philologer's point of view.

English and Latin had run on, side by side, as the two exclusive vehicles of the language of our government,

¹ People complain of his Arthurian Legends; but even these were better than no English History at all.

from 600 to 1160; from the latter date to 1215, Latin reigned without a rival. No Englishman could take offence if the language of the Church, revered alike by himself and by his French-speaking neighbour, were used as the organ of government. To come down to our own days, there was little strife between Croat and Magyar, when Latin was the official tongue of the whole of the Hungarian realm; the disuse of this tongue, a silly innovation, was one of the causes of the bloody civil wars in 1848. In England, linguistic enmities never rose to the boiling-point, as on the Danube. the contrary, in that renowned year 1215, a third official language was seen; the Great Charter is said to have been put forth in French, not in Latin.1 French and Latin henceforward ran on side by side down to 1362, when English was once more made the language of the Law Courts. It was no insult to the English of the Thirteenth Century that public affairs should be discussed and set forth in the tongue of the higher classes, who were doing their utmost for the common welfare of all, and who were working for the hovel every whit as much as for the castle or the monastery. True it was that the nobles in England talked French among themselves; but they were more drawn to their English-speaking neighbours than to the Court favourites that came over here from Poiton and Savoy. The time, when another language besides Latin appeared as a mouthpiece of the English government, ushers in the darkest days of the history of our language;

¹ Earle, Philology, 53.

its cultivation all but ceased; after the Ancren Riwle comes an ugly gap of sixty years that the philologer must ever hold accursed. No long original English poem, except the Owl and Nightingale, was put forth from 1220 to 1320. There is no English prose treatise at all (written in the easy idiom of the day), from 1220 to 1340, except a few Kentish scraps. Strange it is that the same period of time, which heaped upon England political boons unparalleled in the world's history, should have mangled England's speech in a way unknown to the literary records of other countries.

What was the reason of the great change between 1220 and 1280, the Second Division of the Middle English, the period of Decay? I answer; all Englishmen, high and low, were flinging themselves headlong into the chase after foreign fashions. Our Nobles and Bishops spoke French in their own homes, though they could make shift to understand the English spoken by a neighbour or a vassal. In 1215 they did a priceless service to England; they acted boldly in the teeth of King and Pope alike. Never did any aristocracy so nobly earn the thanks of the whole land; and this stout patriotism never slackened for generations. The wicked John, the weak Henry, the mighty Edward, all alike had to bow before a majesty greater than their own. Well may we be proud of our Bigods and Bohuns. It is no wonder if England imitated her leaders' speech; in this course burghers and priests would be the most forward. If anything ever was fit to draw forth national poetry, it was the great struggle that was going on about 1260. Of this date we have many Poems, in which the platform of the national leaders is set out, and the English heart pours forth its patriotic fire; but all these Poems, with one short exception, are couched in French and Latin.

If none of the great European literatures, as Hallam has said, was of such slow growth as the English, the reason is not far to seek. The French, Spanish, Provencal. Italian, Norse, and German literatures were fostered by high-born patrons. Foremost stand the great Hohenstaufens, Emperors of the Romans, ever August; then come Kings of England, of Norway, of Sicily, of Castile; Dukes of Austria, Landgraves of Thuringia, Counts of Champagne; together with a host of knights from Suabia, Tuscany, Provence, and Aragon. A far other lot fell to the English Muse: for many long years she basked not in the smiles of King or Earl; her chosen home was far away from Court, in the cloister and the parsonage; her utterance was by the mouths of a few lowly priests, monks, and friars. Too long was she content to translate from the lordly French; in that language her own old legends, such as those of Havelok and Horn, had been enshrined for more than a hundred years. It was in French, not in English, that Stephen of Canterbury preached and Robert of Lincoln rimed. good home-born patriots though they were. island there was no acknowledged Standard of national speech; ever since 1120, each shire had spoken that which was right in its own eyes.1 It was not until after

¹ Many standard French authors, who lived before 1525, are now commonly reprinted; we reprint for general use two English authors alone, Chaucer and Mallory, of all that wrote before that date.

1400 that all the land to the South of Trent came to acknowledge one Standard, the King's English. The Court at Winchester might have made English the fashion, after the loss of Normandy in 1205; the slightest advance in that path would have been enough. Unhappily, the Court did not take the decisive step; our tongue had to plod on for 150 years longer, before any English King would deign to smile upon her.

She had a dangerous rival on the other side of the Channel. Ever since the year 1200, the French Court and nation had been waxing more powerful than ever before: their influence was felt from the Tay to the Jordan. Pope Gregory IX., in 1239, likened France to the tribe of Judah overtopping all others as regarded valour and piety French knights were in request everywhere: to storm Constantinople, to prop up the falling kingdom of Jerusalem, to champion the Pope's cause in Southern Italy, to root out the heretics of Languedoc, to make head against the German Kaiser, to save England from the ruthless grip of her tyrant, Rome's new vassal. French learning kept well abreast of French prowess. Hundreds of Englishmen went to study at Paris; little comparatively was thought of Oxford or Cambridge scholarship before 1230.1 French architecture was at this time (1200-1260) pushing its conquests in all directions, as may be seen by any traveller who shall visit Leon in Spain, Casamara in Italy, Cologne in Germany, Westminster in

Filii nobilium, dum sunt juniores, Mittuntur in Franciam fieri doctores

England; churches all begun about this time.1 It was France that taught other countries how to write. Italians such as Martin da Canale at Venice, and Brunetto Latini at Florence, threw aside their own mothertongue and wrote in French, the best vehicle, as they thought, of polite speech. Rather earlier in the Century, Germany was seeking inspiration from French sources. There are no fewer than three German metrical Romances extant on the tale of Sir Tristrem: Gottfried von Strasburg is careful to tell us that he searched for his theme in books both Latin and Welsch (French).2 Still more did Englishmen, as was natural, turn to France, the marvellous centre that has always had a kind of magnetic attraction for those born without her pale. In Paris seemed to be united, at this particular time, all the learning of Athens and all the valour of Rome. Furthermore, a little later on, it was at Paris that a King ruled, in whose person (so it might well seem to Englishmen) their own Alfred had started once more to life; this foreign King was chosen to make an award, famous in our history, between contending Englishmen. Legends about the mighty Charlemagne, who was fondly imagined to have been a typical Frenchman, were widely spread. From Paris came all the lore, the art, the chivalry, the fashion of the day; something of the same kind may be remarked much later, in 1670.3 If an English scholar were minded to win a

¹ We still see at Westminster two distinct inroads of French architecture; that of 1060 and that of 1245.

² See Scott's Sir Tristrem, p. 254.

³ So in our own day, it is France that supplies the English

name for himself, he had to write either in French or in Latin. There was no Standard English that might be understood alike at Durham and at Exeter; any patriot handling English (a few such there were). translated his short little piece for the lend men of his own neighbourhood, and not for outsiders. Our shires had become intensely local in their speech. The Northern Psalter could never have been aught but a puzzle in Warwickshire: Layamon's Brut must have fallen flat on Lincolnshire ears. When the great Bishop of Lincoln wished to teach the whole of England, he wisely wrote his Chasteau d'amour in French; fifty years after his death, it had to be turned into both Northern and Southern English. Yet, for all these French leanings, Bishop Robert was the best of patriots, and could make use of his mother-tongue to shame the greed of Papal underlings, athirst for the good things of England.1 In the English Legend of St. Edmund the Archbishop, another great Churchman, we find it stated, as if something wonderful, that he uttered a sentence in English on his deathbed. famous English Proclamation of the year 1258 is plainly the work of some clerk, who tries to imitate the style of the old Charters, and who can only produce stilted stuff that was never spoken; the piece has been compared to the English that a Bengalee, taught in the Government schools, might put forth.

theatre; our playwrights translate (I beg their pardon, adapt) French pieces.

¹ Surrexit et confessus est Anglicè &c. See the story in Thomas of Eccleston, Monumenta Franciscana, (Master of the Rolls).

It cannot be too often repeated that the disuse of English for sixty years after 1220 was the effect of fashion, not of governmental effort: and this disuse was compatible with sound political feeling. Something of the like kind may be seen in Russia now: the higher classes at St. Petersburgh will speak nothing but French among themselves; yet, let some danger threaten their country, they will show as much public spirit as their neighbours, the uncouth boors, who have never heard of Voltaire. To return to England: one sign of the times was the loss of her old Interjections; for this I account in the following way. The great Lady of the Castle must have been the glass of fashion to all the neighbouring Franklins' wives who might be admitted into her august presence. The worthy women would take as careful heed of Madame's Court phrases as of her dress itself: of her O, her ah, her allaz, her hei, her Deus, and her par ma fai.1 These charming exclamations, coming with the weightiest authority from such wellbred lips, would speedily put to flight the vulgar old Teutonic eala, walawa, and such like. The women. humble missionaries of Fashion, would soon din the fine new phrases into the ears of their husbands and children. Of all words, an Interjection is the easiest to pick up and imitate; and we have been always adding to our store of these expletives, from 1160 downwards.2

¹ The O and a may be seen in the Homilies of 1160. A-wellaway, an ingenious combination, may be seen in the Essex Homilies, p. 183.

² Miss Martineau tells us in her *Autobiography*, published in 1877, that she was much struck by the peculiar feminine oaths, relics of the Eighteenth Century, uttered by Miss Berry and other ladies

Long before the Conquest, the ladies had discovered that homely Teutonic words could not express the delicate articles by which the feminine mind sets most store. In an English lady's will of 995 we find the foreign words mentel, tuneca, cuman.1 In later days. Paris and Rouen became the oracles of the fair sex. These cities supplied articles of dress, wherewith the ladies decked themselves so gaily as to draw down the wrath of the pulpit. One preacher of 1160 goes so far as to call smart clothing 'the Devil's mousetrap;' yellow raiment and blanchet (a way of whitening the skin) seem to have been reckoned the most dangerous of snares to womankind, and therefore also to mankind.2 In the Essex Homilies an onslaught is made upon the Priest's wife and her dress; we hear of 'hire chemise smal and hwit, hire mentel grene, hire nap of mazere.'3 The Ancren Riwle does not dwell on this topic of dress so much as might have been expected; only a few French articles are there mentioned. A little later, the high-bred dames are thus assailed:

peos prude levedies
pat luvyep drywories
And brekep spusynge,
For heore lecherye,
Nullep here sermonye
Of none gode pinge.

born about the same time (Vol. I. 369). I once heard of an Englishman, who had his sons taught to swear in French by a French tutor, hired for that purpose only.

¹ Kemble, Codex Dipl. VI. 130.

² Homilies, First Series, p. 53.

³ Homilies, Second Series, p. 163.

Heo drawep heore wede, Mid seolkene prede Haced and ibunde.¹

In the days of Edward I., we find scores of French words, bearing on ladies' way of life, employed by our writers. Many were the articles of luxury that came from abroad; commerce was binding the nations of Christendom together. The English chapman and monger now withdrew into low life, making way for the more gentlemanly foreigner, the marchand; the old seamer was replaced by the tailor. Half of our trades bear French names; simple hues like red and blue do well enough for the common folk, but our higher classes must have a wider range of choice; hence come the foreign scarlet, vermilion, orange, mauve, and such like.

But other agents of change were at work in the land after 1220. Few of us have an idea of the wonderful revolution brought about in Latin Christendom by the teaching of St. Francis. Two Minorite friars of his Century, the one living in Italy, the other in England, give us a fair notion of the work done by the new Brotherhood, when it first began to run its race. Thomas of Eccleston and Salimbene 2 throw a stronger light upon its budding life than do all the documents published by the learned Wadding in his Annals of the Minorites. Italy may claim the founder; but England may boast that

¹ Old English Miscellany, p. 77.

² The work of the Englishman is in Monumenta Franciscana, published by the Master of the Rolls; that of the Italian is in Monumenta ad Provincias Parmensem et Placentinam pertinentia, to be found in the British Museum.

she carried out his work, at least for fourscore years after his death, better than any other land in Christendom. It was she that gave him his worthiest disciples; the great English Franciscans, Alexander de Hales, Adam de Marisco, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and Occam, were unequalled by any of their brethren abroad, with the two exceptions of Buonaventura and Lulli. Some of these men sought the mainland, while others taught in their school at Oxford; under the new guidance the rising University shot up with giant's growth, and speedily outdid her old rival on the Seine. The great Robert himself (he was not as yet known as Lincolniensis) lectured before the brethren at Oxford. English friars, being patterns of holiness, were held in the highest esteem abroad; when reading Salimbene's work, we meet them in all kinds of unlikely places throughout Italy and France: they crowded over the sea to hear their great countryman Hales at Paris, or to take a leading part in the Chapters held at Rome and Assisi. The gift of wisdom, we are told, overflowed in the English province.

It was a many-sided Brotherhood, being always in contact with the learned, with the wealthy, and with the needy alike. The English Friar was equally at home in the school, in the bower, in the hovel. He could speak more than one tongue, thanks to the training bestowed upon him. We may imagine his every-day life: he spends his morning in drawing up a Latin letter to be sent to the General Minister at Oxford or Paris, and he writes much as Adam de Marisco did. The friar of this age has no need to fear the tongue of scandal; so in the afternoon he visits the Lady of the Castle, whose dearest

wish is that she may atone for the little weaknesses of life by laying her bones in the nearest Franciscan Church, mean and lowly though it be in these early days. He tells her the last tidings from Queen Eleanor's Court, points a moral with one of the new Lays of Marie, and lifts up his voice against the sad freaks played by fashion in ladies' dress. Their talk is of course in French; but the friar, having studied at Paris, remarks to himself that his fair friend's speech sounds somewhat provincial; and more than a hundred years later we are to hear of the school of Stratford-atte-Bowe. In the evening, he goes to the neighbouring hamlet, and holds forth on the green to a throng of horny-handed churls, stalwart swinkers and toilers, men who earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brows. They greedily listen when addressed in the uncouth English of their shire, English barely understood fifty miles off. Such burning words they never hear from their parish-priest, one of the old school. The friar's sermon is full of proverbs, tales, and historical examples, all tending to the improvement of morals.1

A new link, as we see, was thus forged to bind all classes together in godly fellowship; nothing like this Franciscan movement had been known in our island for six hundred years. The Old was being replaced by the New; a preacher would suit his tales to his listeners: they cared not to hear about hinds or hus-

¹ This last sentence I take from Salimbene, who describes the new style of preaching practised by the friars his brethren. Italy and England must have been much alike in the Thirteenth Century in this respect.

bandmen, but about their betters. He would therefore talk about ladies, knights, or statesmen; and when discoursing about these, he must have been almost driven to interlard his English with a few French words, such as were constantly employed by his friends of the higher class. As a man of learning, he would begin to look down upon the phrases of his childhood as somewhat coarse, and his lowly hearers rather liked a term now and then that soared a little above their understanding: what is called 'fine language' has unhappily always had charms for most Englishmen. It would be relished by burghers even more than by peasants. Many free men must have known French as well as English. preacher may sometimes have translated for his flock's behoof, talking of 'grith or pais, rood or croiz, steven or voiz, lof or praise, swikeldom or tricherie, stead or place.'2 As years went on, and as men more and more aped their

¹ Our humbler classes now prefer the fictitious adventures of some wicked Marquis to all the sayings and doings of Mrs. Gamp or Mrs. Povser.

² I take the following sketch from Middlemarch, III. 156 (published in 1872):--

^{&#}x27;Mr. Trumbull, the auctioneer . . . was an amateur of superior phrases, and never used poor language without immediately correcting himself. "Anybody may ask," says he, "anybody may interrogate. Any one may give their remarks an interrogative turn." He calls Ivanhoe "a very superior publication, it commences well." Things never began with Mr. Trumbull; they always commenced, both in private life and on his handbills; "I hope some one will tell me—I hope some individual will apprise me of the fact."

Many of our early Franciscans must have been akin to Mr. Trumbull. Our modern penny-a-liners would say that the worthy auctioneer was a master of English, and a better guide to follow than Bunyan or Defoe.

betters, the French words would drive out the Old English words; and the latter class would linger only in the mouths of upland folk, where a keen antiquary may find some of them still. The clergy were the one class that wrote for the people; they could therefore make our Literature whatever they chose. So mighty was the spell at work, that in the Fourteenth Century French words found their way into even the Lord's Prayer and the Belief; the last strongholds, it might be thought, of pure English. It was one of the signs of the times that the old bodu made way for the new prechur; 1 prayer and pruise both come from France.2

But the influence of the friars upon our speech was not altogether for evil. St. Francis, it is well known, was one of the first fathers of the New Italian; a friar of his Order, Thomas of Hales, wrote what seems to me the best poem of two hundred lines produced in English before Chaucer.³ This 'Luve ron,' addressed to a nun about 1250, shows a hearty earnestness, a flowing diction, and a wonderful command of rime; it has not a score of lines (these bear too hard on wedlock) that might not have been written by a pious Protestant. Hardly any French words are found here, but the names of a string of jewels. English poets had hitherto made

¹ How often does the word *predicai* (prædicavi) occur in the journal of the Franciscan, who afterwards became Sixtus V.!

² Krasinski tells us, that when the Jesuits began to sway education in Poland, the language was soon corrupted by a barbarous mixture of Latin phrases.—Reformation in Poland, II. 202.

² Old English Miscellany, p. 93, (Early English Text Society). Dr. Morris thinks that the friar wrote in Latin, which was afterwards Englished.

but little use of the Virgin Mary as a theme. But her worship was one of the great badges of the Franciscan Order; and from 1220 onward she inspired many an English Maker. However wrong it might be theologically, the new devotion was the most poetical of all rites; the dullest monk is kindled with unwonted fire when he sets forth the glories of the Maiden Mother. To her Chaucer and Dunbar have offered some of their most glowing verse.

The second copy of Layamon's Brut was written, it is thought, about 1260. Scores of old words set down fifty years earlier in the first copy of 1205 had now become strange in the ears of Englishmen; these words are therefore dropped altogether. Some French words, unknown to Layamon, are found in this second copy.

We have an opportunity of comparing the Old and the New school of English teachers, as they stood in the Middle of this Century. We find one poem, written shortly before 1250, about the time that Archbishop Edmund was canonized: this must have been composed by a churchman of the good old St. Albans' pattern, a preacher of righteousness after Brother Matthew's own heart. The rimer casts no wistful glance abroad, but appeals to English saints and none others; he strikes hard at Rome in a way that would have shocked good Franciscans. He may have been a patriot, zealous for the old tongue: for he is an exception to the common rule; the proportion of English words, now obsolete, in his lines is as great as in those of Orrmin fifty years earlier. Most different is another Poem, written

¹ Old English Miscellany, p. 89.

well have been a Franciscan; he pours out his wrath on priests' wives and on parsons; he handles the sins of Jankin and Malkin in most homely wise. He has some French words that he need not have employed, such as sire and dame instead of father and mother; his proportion of obsolete English is far less than that which we see in the lines of his brother-poet. I suspect that the Ancren Riwle (it still exists in many copies) must have been a model most popular among the friars, who perhaps did much to bring into vogue the French words with which it swarms.

Long before the friars had fairly buckled to their work in England, a great change connected with our baptismal font had taken place. The old national Christian names had died out soon after 1066, and had been replaced by French names; boys and girls alike received newfangled appellations. Proper names are the words most of all under Fashion's sway. Here and there parents might hold to the name of the special patron of their shire, as Northumbria to St. Cuthbert, the West Midland to St. Chad, East Anglia to St. Edmund, and all England to St. Edward. Still, allowing for these exceptions, there was a general craving after Norman names; the Teutonic father was always giving his equally Teutonic son a fine French name; and this holds true even of villeins. We came across Willekin and Robekin in 1190. When the author of the Ancren Riwle wishes to forbid the divulging of the names of

¹ Old English Miscelluny, p. 186.

particular sinners in shrift, he writes, 'vou need not say Willam or Water (Walter), p. 340. When a teacher thirty years later wishes to brand the sins of young men and maidens in general, he talks of Robin and Gilot; Jack and Gill were to come long afterwards. Robert of Brunne has occasion to mention names that may be given in baptism; he at once refers to 'Robert, Willyam, and Joun.' (Handlyng Synne, p. 297.)

Matthew Paris is a name dear to all true-hearted Englishmen; but we should have set the good monk upon a still higher pinnacle had he only trodden in the footsteps of the earlier Peterborough Chronicler and written in English. Down to 1220, the clergy had fostered our earliest Literature with earnest care; after that time, with few exceptions, they seemed to throw it aside or to corrupt it. Of all the agents that wrought the great change in our speech, between 1220 and 1280, the friars, I suspect, were the class most mighty for evil. Law, learning, fashion, and chivalry are topics confined to the upper classes; but religion comes home to all men alike, to high and to low. Hence, when the Old English theological terms were dropped, the worst kind of mischief was done. We see something of this evil in our Bible at this day; the Gospels and most parts of the Old Testament are readily understood over all the land, for they deal with every-day life. But the Epistles abound in deep theological terms, which repel rather than attract

¹ These names have replaced the old typical names for the sexes in England, Godric and Godgifu. See Freeman, Norman Conquest, V. 562. Our jilt, I believe, has been derived from Gilot. We know our common 'every man Jack of them;' see Gower, II, 393.

the common folk. Here Wickliffe and Tyndale, when they translated the Scriptures, could not help themselves; they were driven to use Latin terms, such as sanctification and regeneration, owing to the evil anti-national influence which had been at work in the Thirteenth Century long before their day. A poor man, unless he knows Latin, cannot understand the full force of the word Redeemer; but the old word Ayainbuyer explained itself. Such a word as propitiation must be an utter puzzle to the great mass of Englishmen; even though something like it appeared in the Cursor Mundi, so early as 1290. In our day, if writers on religion would be popular, they must be like Mr. Ryle, intensely Teutonic. English word, that is understood by high and low alike, must take higher rank than an English word that commends itself to none but Latin scholars; overlying and outcast stand high above superincumbent and eliminated. The lovers of the Newfangled may talk as they list, but they will never convince us that England was not wounded in the tenderest point of all, during the Thirteenth Century; that age so righteously revered by the statesman and the architect, so accursed in the eyes of the philologer.

There is yet another way in which we can measure the harm done in this Black Century. Villehardouin and Layamon were dictating or writing much about the same time, soon after the year 1200. Any fairly well educated English lady will now understand the old Marshal of Champagne with the greatest ease, after a little practice; but the Worcestershire priest, though her own countryman, will be a standing puzzle to her,

unless she already knows something of Old English.1 The reason for all this is plain: France has always had the good sense to hold fast to her old tongue, and not to follow foreign fashions; in her literature there has never been any ugly gap since 1100. Silly England, for sixty disastrous years, threw aside her own home-bred speech. and thought of nothing but Parisian ways. In our day, a translation is always supplied for all English works written before the year 1220: after that year a few notes are all that is judged needful for learners.

About 1160, our inflections were rapidly vanishing from written English, at least in the Dano-Anglian country; in Kent, many of them lingered on down to 1340, and traces of them may be found in Somerset and Dorset at this day. One effect of the Conquest was, that the writing of Chronicles was no longer in the hands of learned men, but was given over to peasants. The Peterborough Chronicle of 1160 answers to what an Umbrian monk or peasant might now achieve. if he had a slight smattering of Latin lore and essaved to imitate Cicero. The preservation or loss of inflections is the great mark, whether a language be Old or New. Of the three great changes in written English, the loss of Inflections (at least in books) dates from 1160; the loss of the power of Compounding dates from 1200 in the East Midland, which was to set the fashion to the whole land; the wholesale rush of new French words into our tongue dates from 1280.2 I may

Any English writer of 1300 would have been puzzled, almost as much as my imaginary lady, by Layamon's poem.

² The Ancren Riwle abounds in French words; but it was not imitated for sixty years, in this respect.

well call the whole of this period, embracing these three dates, Middle English; it differs alike from what went before, and from what was to come later. A prose piece of 1120 is nearer to King Alfred than to an East Midland piece of 1160; an East Midland piece of 1303 is nearer to what is written under Queen Victoria than to what was written in 1250.

But the worst blow of all, inflicted by the sixty years of disaster, is the all but entire loss of the Old English power of compounding. We need not sigh over our lost Inflections; they were waning away in the East Midland so early as 1160, as we see in the Chronicle; and the more part must have gone, sooner or later, even had Harold conquered at Hastings. Owing to their departure, our speech is now the most easy and flexible in the whole world. But the loss of the power of compounding is a very different thing. This power is the truest token of life in languages. It was found in the Ormulum as much as in the Ancren Riwle, in the Dano-Anglian country as well as in the Saxon shires. But in the first thirty years of the Thirteenth Century, in the East Midland shires that have ruled our New English, we may remark a distaste for words compounded with Prepositions; they become scarcer and scarcer, though we have kept to this day some Verbs which have fore, out, over, and under prefixed. This I have already remarked. What a noble instrument of thought and speech is the Greek, where every shade of meaning can be expressed by simply prefixing a Preposition to some root!

¹ We sometimes even prefix these to Romance words, as forcordain, out-general, over-balance, and under-mine.

Nothing can make amends for England's loss in this respect. We have now to borrow from the French or Latin brick-kiln, instead of hewing stones out of our How stands the matter? own quarry. has his right arm shot off; it is replaced by a fine piece of French mechanism; yet we are told by some wiseacres that any regret for the loss of the kindly old limb is a token of Retrogressive Barbarism. But a remnant of our old faculty is left to us. We have still kept, in some measure, the power of compounding with the weightier parts of speech; though here Participles are more employed than Substantives; we may talk of horse-feeding Argos, but not of fair-womaned Achaia. When Shakespere speaks of fieru-footed steeds, we see at once that he is possessed of a noble power of striking off new words, a power that was denied to Dante and Corneille. English poets should stir up this gift, and should never weary of bestowing upon us new and happy compounds. The bards of our day set a worthy example, which should be followed by prose-writers.

We must weigh the proportion of obsolete Teutonic words, found in English writers of the Three Periods into which we have divided the Thirteenth Century. Experiments should be made, by taking a passage in each author's usual style, containing fifty Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs. In such a passage, written between 1200 and 1220, ten or nine words will be found to be now obsolete; in such a passage, written between 1220 and 1280, from eight to four words will be obsolete; in such a passage, written between 1280 and 1300, the

obsolete Teutonic will comprise only four or three words.1

Our store of homespun terms, as we see, was being more and more narrowed. Compare Layamon's Brut with Robert of Gloucester's Poem; we are at once astounded at the loss in 1300 of crowds of good old English words, though both writers were translating the same French lines. It is much the same in the language of religion, as we see by comparing the Ancren Riwle with the Kentish Sermons of 1290, published by Dr. Morris. One seventh of the Teutonic words used here in 1200 seems to have altogether dropped out of written composition by the year 1290: about this fact there can be no dispute. In the lifetime of Henry the Third, far more harm was done to our speech than in the six hundred years that have followed his death.

I now approach the Third Period of Middle English, reaching from 1280 to 1303; which I have called the Time of Reparation by translators. In the sixty years before 1280, the ugliest gap in the whole of our literature from Hengist down to Victoria, a vast multitude of English words had vanished for ever; the power of compounding was all but gone. But about 1280, a sudden turn of fortune directed the eyes of all true Englishmen once more to their mother-tongue, which had been of late so shamefully neglected. One long original poem, and but one, that of the Owl and Nightingale, had been put forth since 1220; besides this, there had been some translations, mostly religious, from French and Latin;

See my Tables at p. 587.

² At least, it is the only one that has come down to us.

these had been few and far between. At length, about 1280, men began to set themselves steadily to translate long poems from the French, such as the Havelok, the Tristrem, the Cursor Mundi, the Lives of the Saints, the French Poems on the History of England, the Alexander, the Manuel des Pechés, the Chasteau d'Amour. Translations were better than nothing at all. From 1280 to our own day, English Literature has been thoroughly well cultivated. About 1320, England took a further step in advance; she began to put forth long original Poems of her own; soon afterwards Hampole, Minot, and the author of Piers Ploughman, fell to work. Both before 1220, and after 1280, works in English abound; the interval between 1220 and 1280, it should be well understood, was the black gulf of ruin. The wonder is, that any one should have taken the trouble of modernising Layamon's Poem at that particular time, when, as Lord Castlereagh would have said, English Literature seemed to be turning her back upon herself. The few men who wrought at English in those evil days should be regarded as respectfully as that handful of patriots, who kept up true English feeling in the score of years after Charles the Second's return home.

Edward the First, whatever he might have been in his youth, turned out a truly national King; and what we owe to him is known far and wide. One thing, however, was wanting to his glory: he never made English the language of his Court, though he affected to fear that his wily foe at Paris was plotting to wipe out this despised speech. It was not until long after Edward's death that our language could win Royal

In his reign most letters were written, not favour. in Latin, but in French. He loved chivalry, tournaments, and single combats; he had a high idea of French refinement, and this doubtless tended to throw back our speech. The courtly tongue drove all before it. For instance, a word like epeling (princeps) was well understood in 1240; sixty years later, its meaning had to be explained to Englishmen. Still, with every possible abatement, Edward's reign is every whit as great a landmark in English Philology as in English Constitutional History. Now it was that the great rush of French words came into our tongue; we cannot call it 'an ugly rush,' when we think of the gaps that had to be filled up. Any one that reads the Cursor Mundi, the Becket Legend, the Alexander, or the Handlyng Synne, will throw aside all his early ideas about Chaucer, who was long falsely supposed to have been the great corrupter of English. So much sound Teutonic stuff had been lost before 1280, that vast repairs had to be undertaken, if our language thenceforward was to be copious. French was not needed in 1220; it was badly wanted in 1280. One evil resulted, that we grew careless of our old national endings, the lic, the dom, the sum, the isc, and others; and we ceased in a great measure to attach them to Teutonic roots, since we had always French synonyms ready at hand.2 Furthermore, the evil habits of Henry

¹ See the Old English Miscellany, p. 106; and then compare Robert of Gloucester, p. 354.

² We may still talk of folk, but we cannot employ folchic, folcise, and many other words derived from that root. Hence it is that we

the Third's reign could not at once be shaken off; there was a gradual loss of old words, even under Edward the First. In 1280, the proportion of Teutonic Nouns, Verbs. and Adverbs, now obsolete, is four out of fifty; in 1290, it is but three out of fifty. About the latter year a firm check seems to have been given to careless dealing with old words; comparatively few of them thenceforward were lost. The New English, as we know it, was now all but formed in the East Midland shires. Its loss of inflections, its neglect of the old power of compounding, and its substitution of French words for Teutonic terms, the three main changes in our speech, all these tendencies were as evident in 1280 as they are six hundred years Edward did not encourage English; hence it came that our Standard speech sprang up, not at his Court, but in cloisters on the Nen and the Welland. Still, Edward's reign was a time when all classes were drawing nearer to each other. The ballad on Lewes fight, in which a few French terms are used, seemed to bear witness to the union of the high and the The long political struggle of the Thirteenth Century knit all true men together, whether they spoke-French or English. From Edward's time dates the revival of the glories of England's host, which has seldom since allowed thirty years to pass without some doughty deed of arms, achieved beyond our borders; for there were but few quarrels at home henceforward. Now it was, as I said before, that a number of warlike French

use national, and hence nation has encroached upon folk. Hundreds of other good old Teutonic words are in this plight.

romances were Englished. The word adventure, brought from France, was as well known in England as in Germany.1 Our per aventure, having been built into the English Bible centuries later, is likely to last. Old Teutonic words made way for the outlandish terms glory, renown, victory, army, host, champion. England was becoming, under her great Edward, the most united of all Christian kingdoms; the yeomen who tamed Wales and strove hard to conquer Scotland looked with respect upon the high-born circle standing next to the King. What was more, the respect was returned by the nobles: we have seen the tale of the Norfolk farmer at page 471; and this, I suspect, could hardly have happened out of England. France has always been the country that has given us our words for soldiering: from the word castel, used as a military word in 1048, to the word mitrailleuse, brought over in 1870. Englishmen of old could do little in war but sway the weighty axe or form the shieldwall under the eye of such Kings as Ironside or Godwine's son; it was France that taught us how to ply the mangonel and trebuchet. We have always been a warlike, but never a military nation.2

² The Editor of Sir John Burgoyne's Life, in 1873, complains of the poverty of the English military vocabulary, when he talks of a

¹ Our word adventurer seems to be sinking in the mire. A lady told me not long ago that she thought it unkind in Sir Walter Scott to call Prince Charles Edward 'the young Adventurer.' Thus, what but sixty years ago described a daring knight, now conveys to some minds the idea of a scheming knave. It is a bad sign for a nation, when words that were once noble are saddled with a base meaning. We should bestow some attention on the changed meanings of the Italian panitentia and virtus.

The knights were, moreover, the great patrons of Heraldry, which is altogether French in its diction; it was an object of interest to all who laid any claim to nurture; the lion couchant, or, argent, &c., must have been in the mouths of every low-born man who aspired to gentility, and tried back for a family. The French poem on King Edward's siege of Carlaveroc bears witness to the cultivation bestowed on this science in England.¹

The nobles long clave to the French: I have already quoted Robert of Gloucester's lines about England's high men speaking one tongue in 1300, while her low men spoke another. After 1307, Piers of Bridlington compiled in French his long Chronicle of English history. In 1310 Master Rauf de Boun compiled another Chronicle in French, at the request of the Earl of Lincoln. About 1332, a prose Chronicle, also in

coup de main and an attaque brusquée, Vol. II. 346. Even so late as 1642, we were forced to call in French and German engineers, at the outbreak of the Civil Wars. I am sorry to see that the rank of Cornet Joyce and Ensign Northerton has been swept away; we are henceforward to talk of sub-lieutenants. Why should English History and Literature be so mauled?

¹ When describing war, even poetry must use French words; as in Byron's piece, that begins thus:

'Warriors and chiefs, should the shaft or the sword Piesze me when leading the host of the Lord.'

Our naval terms are very different from this. But not long ago, I saw the crew (as Nelson called it) described by the British penny-aliner as the 'personnel of a vessel.' Our seamen were of yore stout heart and sound of limb; they are now said to be conspicuous of for their morale and physique.' Hace ego non agitem?

French, was put forth, and was called 'The Brute;' of this many copies still exist.\(^1\) The Scala Cronica was drawn up in French prose by an English knight, about 1362. Still later, the courtly poet Gower made his first attempts in French, and most of the letters of Henry the Fourth are written in this language. Many of the Guilds all over the land drew up their laws in French; as was done at Bristol in 1416.\(^2\) There is a French poem on the death of York, the father of Edward the Fourth, in 1461. The fashionable tongue was hard of dying in our land.

For many years did French and English run on side by side. I have already remarked on what we owe to the collectors of the literature of the day. Of these, the most praiseworthy of all are the scribes that flourished in the Evil Sixty Years, the men that drew up the Cotton Manuscript about 1240, the Jesus Manuscript about 1260, not to mention Layamon's second transcriber. Between 1290 and 1440 some well-known English manuscripts were compiled: the Digby, Laud, Ashmole, Harleian, Auchinleck, Vernon, and Thornton compilations are famous names. I would here call attention to the Harleian Manuscript, drawn up rather before 1320. The compiler travels over the foregoing sixty years, and sets down Latin, French, and English poems alike with impartial pen. In some of these works the three vehicles of English literature jostle each other. Thus we have a Hymn to the Virgin:

¹ See Mr. Skeat's Preface to the Havelok, vi. xiii.

² English Gilds (Early English Text Society), p. 286.

Mayden moder milde,
oiez cel oreysoun,
From shome thou me shilde,
e de ly malfeloun.
For love of thine childe,
me menez de tresoun.
Ich wes wod and wilde,
ore su en prisoun.

A lady of more earthly mould is thus described:

Ele est si bele et gente dame egregia, Cum ele fust imperatoris filia De beal semblant et pulcra continencia Ele est la flur in omni regis curia.

Indeed, it seemed as if no English bard could do fair justice to a lady's charms, without a copious sprinkling of words drawn from the fashionable language of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. I take the following from the same Harleian Manuscript; heo is what we now call she:—

Heo is dereworthe in day, Graciouse, stout, and gay,

¹ Lyric Poems (Percy Society), pp. 97, 65. Another manuscript (Old English Miscellany, 194) has the following:

<sup>Of on þat is so fayr and brigt, velud maris stella,
Brigter þan þe day-is ligt, parens et puella,
Ich crie to þe, þou se to me,
Levedi, prey þiæone for me, tam pia,
pat ic mote come to þe,
Maria:</sup>

Gentil, jolyf so the jay

Heo is coral of godnesse,
Heo is rubie of rihtfulnesse,
Heo is cristal of clannesse,
Ant baner of bealté.
Heo is lilie of largesse,
Heo is parvenke of prouesse,
Heo is solsecle of swetnesse,
Ant ledy of lealté.

The same Frenchified style is applied to the description of the feasts and the amusements of these fair ladies and their lords; we read as follows, in the Havelok of the year 1280. The beneysun is said, and then the guests see before them

Kranes, swannes, veneysun, Lax, lampreys, and god sturgun, Pyment to drinke, and god clare, Win hwit and red, ful god plente.

Of pe metes bidde I not dwelle, pat is pe storie for to lenge, It wolde anuye pis fayre genge.

Afterwards, men might see

pe moste joie pat mouhte be.

Leyk of mine, of hasard ok, Romanz reding on he bok, Per mouthe men here he gestes singe, he gleymen on he tahour dinge.²

¹ Lyric Poetry, p. 52.

² Pp. 47, 65.

The old hwistlere now began to be called a minstrel. The singers of gestes, since 1220, had followed French rime, and had forsaken the Old English alliterative rhythm. In a poem of about 1230, sixteen lines running end in the sound ede or eden; this is clearly an English imitation of one of the poetical effects, upon which the French bards prided themselves, as is well known. In the Havelok, fifty years later, nineteen lines end in the same sound ede; lines 87–105. A vast number of French words must have been brought in by translators, simply to help themselves to a rime; thus, in the Horn of 1280:

pe stones beop of suche grace, pat pu ne schalt in none place, &c.—P. 17.

pe knigtes geden to table and Horne gede to stable.—P. 17.

hi gonne me assaile, mi swerd me nolde faille.—P. 18.

It is the same in the Floriz and Blancheflur, of the same date:-

pe porter is culvert and felun, forp he wule setten his resun, and bere upon pe felonie, and segge pat pu art a spie.—P. 60.

We further read in this poem :-

panne sede pe burgeis, pat was wel hende and curtais.

Leaving the Minstrels, we pass on to other ministers to the pleasures of the great. The Tristrem, translated about 1280, abounds in words of hunting; in pages 33

and 34, we learn all the technical names for the parts of a stag, when cut up; in p. 165 we hear of the bonaire knight, who bides repaire in the forest, who began chaci an hart, and blew priis. Our sire and dam, now confined to horses, are a relic of this age; also a brace of birds. In 1280, it is hopeless to expect anything but French when the amusements of noblemen are set forth; in p. 170 of the Tristrem comes this stanza:

So it befel acas,
In Seyn Matheus toun,
That a fair fest was,
Of lordes of renoun:
A baroun that hight Bonifas
Spoused a levedi of Lyoun;
Ther was miche solas,
Of al maner soun,
And gle;
Of minstrals up and doun,
Bifor the folk so fre.¹

The technical terms of games of chance, like Chancer's cink and treye, belong to the French-speaking class. ²

Cookery is a science that has always commanded the attention of the great; indeed, it was as important a business in their eyes as war or hunting. Several of the French words used in this art may be read in the Lay of Havelok, who himself served for some time as a swiller of dishes: we here find pastees, wastels, weneysun, and many other terms of the craft; our common roast, boil,

Contrast this with the interse Teutonism of Mr. Swinburne and Mr. Morris when riming 600 years later.

² Our trey keeps more to the true old Vowel sound than the modern French trois, just as our deuce preserves the old sound of deux.

fry, broil, toast, grease, brawn, larder, bear witness as to which race it was that had the control of the kitchen.

We have spoken of the Lady, the Knight, and the Friar: we now come to the Lawyer. The whole of the government was long in the hands of the French-speaking class. Henry the Second, the great organiser of English law, was a thorough Frenchman, who lived in our island as little as he could: the tribunals were in his time reformed; and the law terms, with which Blackstone abounds (peine forte et dure, for instance), are the bequest of this age. The Roman law had been studied at Oxford even before Henry had begun to reign; and Canceller was one of the earliest foreign words that came in. The Legend of St. Thomas, drawn up about 1300, swarms with French words when the Constitutions of Clarendon are described; and a Charter of King Athelstane's, turned into the English spoken rather earlier, shows how many of our own old law terms had by that time been supplanted by foreign ware.2 Our barristers still keep the old French pronunciation of their technical word record: the onez of our courts is well known: when we talk of an heir male, we use a French construction; we do not begin, but commence an action at law. A bard of 1220, ('Old English Miscellany,' p. 76)

¹ Those who administered the law were either churchmen or knights.

² Kemble, Cod. Dip. V. 235. We here find grantye, confirmue, and custumes. We are therefore not surprised to learn, that few or none in 1745 could explain the old English law terms in the Baron of Bradwardine's Charter of 1140, 'saca et soca, et thol et theam, et infangthief et outfangthief, sive hand-habend, sive bak-barand:' these had made way for French terms.

sets before us the playdurs, so keen in their red and green garb, men who give unright dooms; for this they will suffer in the next world. We get another picture of the lawyers in 1280; there is the old fellow, who is the best sire; his clerkes, who pink with pen upon parchment, while they breve a man. Then there are somenours (hence the proper name Sumner), who are the plague of the parish; priests come to the County Court and boast of their privilegie from the Pope. Evil deeds are done at the chapitre and the constory; this is the writer's experience, 'seththen y pleide at bisshopes plee.'1

In the Floriz, of the same date, we hear about—

Felons inome hond-habbing
For to suffre jugement,
Bipute answere oper acupement.—P. 70.

The stately word Parliament is French, while King is Teutonic. The same rivalry may be seen in Lords and Commons, knights of the shire and burgesses, aldermen and mayor, borough and city. Since 1660, French has replaced Latin as the general language of diplomacy, and has therefore given us many new words and idioms, that would have astonished Bossuet as much as Dryden.

We must now return to the clergy, who did not confine themselves to preaching; all the lore of the day was lodged in their hands. Roger Bacon's life sets before us the bold way in which some of them pried into the secrets of Nature. One of the means by which

¹ Political Songs (Wright), pp. 156-159. Is there a pun here on the English play and the French plaider?

they drew to themselves the love of the common folk was the practice of medicine; in the friars the leper found his only friends. To these early forefathers of our leechcraft we owe a further change in our tongue. There are many English words for sundry parts and functions of the human frame, words that no well-bred man can use; custom has ruled that we must employ Latin synonyms. The first example I remember of this delicacy (it ought not to be called mawkishness) is in Robert of Gloucester, writing about 1300. When describing the tortures inflicted by King John on his subjects in 1216, and the death of the Earl Marshal on an Irish field in 1234, the old rimer uses terms borrowed from the French that he was translating, instead of certain English words that would jar upon our taste.1 But a leech who flourished eighty years after Robert's time is far more plain-spoken, when describing his cures, made at Newark and London.2 Indeed, he is as

On this head there is a great difference between Germany and England. Teutonic words that no well bred Englishman could use before a woman may be printed by grave German historians. See Von Raumer's account of the siege of Viterbo in 1243, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen. Of course I know that this does not prove Germans to be one whit more indelicate than Englishmen; custom is everything.

² John Arderne's Account of himself, Reliquiæ Antiquæ, I. 191. Charles II. was the best bred Englishman of his time, yet he writes to his sister:—'Poor O'Nial died this afternoon of an uleer in his guts:—Curry's Civil Wars in Ireland, I. 308. So swiftly does fashion change! The amusing Life of the Rev. P. Skelton was published so late as 1792 by a worthy Irish clergyman; still, this contains many phrases at which our more squeamish age would cryout. Boswell used a term struck out by Croker forty years afterwards.

little mealy-mouthed as Orrmin himself. It was not, however, until very late times that perspiration replaced in polite speech the English word akin to the Sanscrit svēda, or that belly was thought to be coarser than stomach.

The leeches, like the lawyers, knew very well what they were about when they couched the diction of their respective crafts in French or Latin, far removed from vulgar ken. A sad picture is drawn in the Cursor Mundi, about 1290, of the diseases of King Herod:—

pe parlesi (palsy) has his a * side.

one •

In his heved he has pe scall, pe scab overgas his bodi all.

Wit pe crache him tok pe scurf,
pe fester thrild his bodi thurgh,
pe gutte (gout) pe potagre es il to bete,
the fell al dun intil his fete.
Over al pan was he mesel c plain,
And parwit had fever quartain;
Ydropsi held him sua in threst.

So early as 1220, we read of the desputinge of scolemaistres in the Legend of St. Katherine. The best English scientific treatise of this Century is 'The Pit of Hell,' printed by Mr. Wright; it deals with the shaping of the human frame. It is strange to contrast

¹ Cursor Mundi, p. 678. As to the last evil, ydropsi, Ælfric had called it water-sickness, when describing the same event. I may remark, that the common folk always talk of a doctor, but would be puzzled by the word leech, used by Scott and Byron. This is one of the few instances in which a Teutonic word commends itself more to the high than to the low.

the diction found here with the obsolete English of a treatise on Astronomy, put forth three hundred years earlier, and printed in the same book of Mr. Wright's. A Poem by the author of the 'Pit of Hell' gives us a peep into Oxford life in the days of St. Edmund the Archbishop; we are first told, that he forgat not his oreisoun for no studie, ne for post of lessoun; he soon undertook arithmetic, though he was not a Cambridge man:—

Of art he radde six zer continuelliche ynouz.

And sippe, for beo more profound, to arsmetrike he drouz,

And arsmetrike radde in cours, in Oxenford wel faste,

And his figours drouz al dai, and his numbre caste.

Arsmetrike is a lore pat of figours al is,

And of drauztes as me drawep in poudre and in numbre

iwis.

Ælfric had employed some Latin terms in his day, but he would have been astonished at the number of these that were flowing in, could he have come to life again about the year 1300. Science in our land has always held fast to foreign words. The Old English hyge (mens) had given birth to many compounds; none of these seem to have outlived Layamon's day. Science spurned the Teutonic and clung fast to the French and Latin. We are even driven to borrow the French savant, to express 'a man of lore' in one word.² A

¹ Life of St. Edmund (Philological Society), pp. 76, 77.

² When the sarants unbend in the evening, after a Congress, they go to a Conversazione. Nothing proves the utter barrenness of English social life more than the fact, that we have had to borrow this Italian word.

Social Science Congress would shudder if anthropology or biology were to be Teutonized. We now find it pretty easy to understand the Chronicle or the Gospels of the year 1000; while King Alfred's Translation of the Pastoral Care is stiff reading indeed. This is because the changes wrought in the Thirteenth Century were peculiarly hostile to the Old English terms employed in philosophy and deep theology.1

Architecture was another craft in which the clergy took the lead; Alan de Walsingham by no means stood alone.2 English words were well enough when a cot or a farm-house was in hand; but for the building of a

1 It would be easy, I think, in our day to write a book on Metaphysics, wherein there should not be one Teutonic Noun or Verb, except am, is, shall, and such like. But it is hard to see why Natural History should resort to foreign terms, which seem chosen on purpose to confine this study to those who know Latin and Greek. A child in the National schools repeats like a parrot words like rodents and graminivorous; he would at once attach a clear idea to gnawers and grass-eating. Our beautiful old English names of plants and flowers have been supplanted by Latin words; arboriculture is one of our latest gems. Any man, who would Teutonize the name-system of certain sciences, would play the part of a sound English patriot. We have made a beginning; compare the plain-spoken works on English History, which are now selling by thousands, with the bombastic stuff that was in vogue twenty years ago. The prig and the pedant wail over the change; but our nation, taken as a whole, is much benefitted. Why should not other branches of knowledge be promoted to the level of History? I have seen it remarked that children are no fools, but that their teachers very often are fools. Dickens, in one of his works, draws a good sketch of Mr. Macchokemchild, an inspector of schools.

² The clergy were also great engineers in war, as we read in the accounts of the Crusades against the Albigenses and Eccelin da Romano. The renowned Chillingworth wanted to play the same part at the siege of Gloucester in 1643.

castle or a cathedral, scores of French technical words had to be called in: at Canterbury, William the Engglishman doubtless employed much the same diction as his predecessor, William of Sens. Indeed, the new style of building, brought from France more than a hundred years before the time of these worthies, must have unfolded many a new term of art to King Edward's masons The veitor of Glastonbury Church, at Westminster. which beheld a mournful scene soon after the Conquest, has long since taken the name of triforium. In our own day, the great revival of Architecture has led to a wonderful enlargement of diction among the common folk; every working mason now has in his mouth scores of words, for the meaning of which learned men forty years ago would have searched in dictionaries.1

In the Cursor Mundi, the Tower of Babel is said to have been built

Wit tile and ter, wituten stan. Oper morter was per nan; Wit cord and plum pai wroght sa hei.

They thus imagined their work:

I rede we begin a laboure And do we wel and make a toure, Wit suire and scantilon sa even, Pat may reche heghur þan heven.¹

The Tristrem had already employed more than two hundred French terms of war, hunting, law, leechcraft.

¹ Our words used in painting, sculpture, and music, come from Italy, not from France.

² P. 136.

religion, and ladies' dress; but the inroad of foreign words was to continue. About the year 1290, we find Churchmen becoming more and more French in their speech. Hundreds of good old English words were now lost for ever; and the terms that replaced them, having been for years in the mouths of men, were at length being set down in manuscripts. The Life of a Saint (many such are extant, written at this time) was called a Vie.1 that version of the Harrowing of Hell which dates from the aforesaid year, the transcriber has gone out of his way to bring in the words delay, commandment (this comes twice over), and serve: all these are crowded into Still more remarkable are the few and short Kentish Sermons, translated from the French about the same time, 1290.2. Never were the Old and the New brought face to face within narrower compass. We see the old Article with its three genders, se, si, pet (in Sanscrit sa, sû, tat), still lingering on in Kent, though these forms had been dropped everywhere else in England. On the other hand, we find about seventy French words. many of which, as verray, defenden, signifiance, orgeilus, commencement, were not needed at all. When reading the short sentence, 'this is si signefiance of the miracle,' our thoughts are at one time borne back to the abode of our earliest forefathers on the Oxus; at another time we see the fine language of the Victorian penny-a-liner most clearly foreshadowed. After 1290, we hardly ever

¹ Long before this, the Legend of St. Juliana begins, 'her cumse's (commence's) be vie, &c.' In this piece Caldey stands for Chaldea.

² Old English Miscellany, p. 26 (Early English Text Society).

find a passage in which the English words, now obsolete, are more than one seventeenth of the whole: 1 the only exception is in the case of some Alliterative poem. This fact gives us some idea of the havon wrought in the Thirteenth Century.

It was to translators in Edward the First's time (this cannot be too often repeated) that our New English owes its present Frenchified guise. I shall now give two passages from the Cursor Mundi, which will show, first the motive of the average translator, and next, the flood of outlandish words brought in by him.²

bis ilk bok es translate Into Inglis tong to rede. For the love of Inglis lede (people), Inglis lede of Ingland, For the commun at understand. Frankis rimes here I redd, Comunlik in ilk sted, Mast es it wroght for Frankis man: Quat is for him na Frankis can? Of Ingland the nacion, Es Inglis man par in commun; pe speche pat man wit mast may spede, Mast parwit to speke war nede; Selden was for ani chance Praised Inglis tong in France; Give we ilkan pare langage, Ma think we do ham non outrage.

1 We must count only the Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs.

² We may remark how this Yorkshireman clings to the rightful old *Frankis*, which had been pronounced *Franch* in the South, ever since Layamon's time. The Northern poet even turns the foreign charge into cark.—P. 1314.

To laud and Inglis man I spell pat understandes pat I tell.—P. 20.

Our poet thus bears witness to the fact, that there was much poetry in the England of 1290, but that this poetry was all in French, unless some one took pity on the lewd folk and translated for their behoof. Of the effect of these translations the following is a specimen. I have underlined the French words, which form more than one third of the Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs:—

A saumpul her be paem I say,
pat rages in pare riot ay;
In riot and in riyolage,
Of all pere liif spend pai pe stage;
For now is halden non in curs,
Bot qua pat luve can paramurs;
pat foly luve pat vanite,
pam likes now nan oper gle;
Hit neys bot fantum for to say,
To day it is, to moru away,
Wyt chaunce of ded, or chaunce of hert.—P. 10.

This is a Yorkshire poem, and the passage alone is enough to overthrow the theory of those who hold that French made great conquests in the South of England, but did not much affect the North. Fifty years later, the Northern Hampole has thrice as much French in his prose treatises as his Kentish rival. About 1300, the Southern translator of Bishop Robert's Chasteau d'Amour states that we cannot all understand Latin, Hebrew, Greek, or French; still every man ought to

¹ There is a mass of French words, later still, in Barbour and Wyntoun.

sing God's praises 'wip such speche as he con lerne.'
The Bishop had written fifty years earlier:—

En Romanz comenz ma reison, Por ceus ki ne sevent mie Ne lettrure ne clergie.

This his translator adapts to the changed practice of a later day—

On Englisch I chul mi resun schowen For him pat con not iknowen Nouper French ne Latyn.¹

Much about the same time, another French poem was translated and enlarged, the Handlyng Synne, that we have already seen. By 1290, the mischief had been done; we must not be hard on Colonel Hamley, or on Blackstone, or on the compilers of the Anglican Prayerbook, or on the describer of a fashionable wedding in the Morning Post, or on the chronicler of the Lord Mayor's feast, or on the Editors of the Lancet and the Builder, because they deal in shoals of foreign terms; nearly six hundred years ago it was settled that the technical diction of their respective crafts must to a great extent be couched in French or Latin.² There were about 150 Romance words in our tongue before 1066, being mostly the names of Church furniture, foreign plants,

¹ Castel of Love, published by Mr. Weymouth for the Philological Society, page 3.

² It was once my lot to treat of a code of law; I find, on looking over my book, that at least one half of my Substantives, Adjectives, Adverbs, and Verbs dealing with this subject, are of Latin birth; so impossible is it for the most earnest Teuton to shake off the trammels laid on England in the Thirteenth Century.

and strange animals. About 100 more Romance words got the right of English citizenship before the year 1200. Lastly, 800 other Romance words had become common with our writers by the year 1300; and before these came in, many hundreds of good old English words had been put out of the way. Fearful was the havock done in the Thirteenth Century; sore is our loss: but those of us who love a Teutonic diction should blame, not Chaucer or Wickliffe, but the foreign fashions of an earlier age. The time of King Henry the Third's death is the moment when our written speech was barrenest; a crowd of English words had already been dropped, and few French words had as yet been used by any writer of prose or poetry, except by the author of the Ancren Riwle; hitherto the outlandish words had come as single spies, henceforward they were to come in batallions.1

There was no Standard of English, accepted all over the country, from 1160 to 1360; and the proof of this lies ready to hand. Though the Cursor Mundi is mostly a translation from the French, there is one exception; the matter from page 1148 to 1192 is copied from a Southern English poem. As the compiler of the Cursor says of this particular part,

> In Sotherin Englis was it draun, And turnd it have I till our aun Langage o Northrin lede, Pat can nan oiper Englis rede.

The Southern English original, compiled about 1280,

1 If any one wishes to divide English into two, not into three, parts, I think that 1270 would be the fairest point of division.

seems to have perished; but we may gain a good idea of what it must have been by comparing the two versions of the Assumption, printed in the 'King Horn,' pp. 44 The proportion of French words is here less and 75. than in the Cursor Mundi. The Southern version should be compared with the rather later Northern variation, for we may thus see how the tongue spoken on the Thames differed from that spoken on the Tees in 1290, when the great strife between the two kingdoms of Britain was about to begin. We have here an unusual privilege; for, though Northern poems were often done into Southern English, the process was hardly ever reversed. The Old English heo (illa) had long vanished from Yorkshire; the following Southern lines had therefore to be altered, even at the expense of the rime:

'Alas, my sone,' seide heo,
'Hu may ihc live, hu may his beo?'

These became in Yorkshire,

'Alas, alas, alas,' said sco,
'How mai I live, how mai I be?'

Southern.

Wepe No wunder nas Schal loky pe He wakede more Kepte De whiles hi were Du were ibore Ne schaltu beo Belamy Northern Translation.

Grete
Was na ferli
Sal ta kep to pe
Scho wok mar
Keped
To-quils pai lenged
pou was born
Tu mon noght be
pou suet ami

Southern. Ihc bidde be Into hire chaumbre He bitraieb Hem to amendy De devel Du boledest wo Wite hem He clupede To bigge Zelde hit zou Of pat tipinge Wend bu nogt Nabbeth no drede No sorez schal come Whei (where) hy be What is be?

Northern Translation. I prai te Until hir chamber He bisnikes Dam to mend De feind Dou thold wa Dou kepe pam Scho cald To bii Foryeild it yuu O suilk bodes Dou part noght Has na dred Na wa sal negh Quarsum bai be Quat ails te?

The future Standard English, as we may clearly see, was to follow blindly neither the Southern nor the Northern variety of speech, but was to look for her pattern to something that trimmed between the two; the great step was to be taken rather later than 1290. If some dialect about midway between London and York were to come to the front, this would have the best chance of being understood all over England, in the South and the North alike. When we compare the two versions above, we must see that a Franciscan Chapter at Oxford or London, including brethren from all the English shires, could not well help having recourse to either French or Latin, if the business in hand was to be understood by all the members alike.

¹ When the Slavonians, from Carniola to Gallicia, met in Parliament in 1848, they found it needful to use the hated German.

I would here protest against a common habit of grammarians; when they find themselves puzzled in English, they make the Norman Conquest answerable for anything and everything. In this way they account for the Teutonic guttural being suppressed in the middle or at the end of our words; buxom is one of the few that keep the sound of the old h (buhsom) in the middle. But the French speech, as we see in the Cursor Mundi. in Hampole, in Barbour, in Wyntoun, and in Dunbar. had quite as much influence in the North as in the South of our island. I would suggest that men who toil in a hilly country, such as extends from Derby to Edinburgh, are more likely to keep the hard rough sounds than are the easy-going dwellers in the rich level plains of Southern England. 1 But it is curious that from 1290 downwards, the North has always kept a far greater proportion of old Teutonic words than the South has done: Dorset must in this yield to Ayrshire. Yet the Scotch classic writers (as they are called), such as Hume and Robertson, had at least as much love for Romance diction as their Southern brethren had. The common folk in Scotland have kept the beautiful old form leal, a French word unknown in the South.

Between 1220 and 1280 the new French words were but few; it was about the latter year that they were beginning to pour into written English. In the Havelok the old *corune*, by which a priest's head had been meant, was now applied to any man's skull; it is our *crown*.

¹ Lord Brougham's name was sounded something like 'Brokham' in the Yorkshire Dales long after 1800, as Professor Sedgwick tells us.

In p. 26 the French meyne stands for household, whence comes menial. Dam, the French corruption of the Latin dominus, is in p. 70; it was prefixed, as Dan, to English names twenty years after this, and the title, used of monks, lasted down to the Reformation.1 female dame (domina) has been longer-lived; Dame Leve comes in this poem, as Sir Edward came twenty years earlier. The term mayster had hitherto been used as a title of honour; at p. 35 it is applied to a kitchenknave by a King. I remember, when a school boy, that we used to greet strangers with this title when asking a question: 'I say, master.' The French burgeys is encroaching on the English burgher, p. 40. At p. 79 comes the phrase to crie merci. The word poure (pauper) here keeps its old French sound, for it rimes with Dovere (p. 5); there is also utrage. We hear, at p. 8, that a King dede sayse intil his hond al Engelond. It is easy to see how this French law term came into common use as a synonym for capere. Storie appears clipped of the vowel that once began it, and Justice is used for a man in office as well as for a virtue. The French corruption of hæres was taking root in England, and was written eyr, just as we pronounce it. We see the origin of deuce in the line

Deus! lemman, hwat may pis be?

¹ A priest in Italy once told me the rule for the modern use of the word *Dominus*;

Collestem Dominum, terrestrem dicite Domnum.

[.] Don is used in Italy, though not so much as in Spain. France talks of Dom Calmet, England of Dan Lydgate.

The datheit, first found in Dorsetshire, is in constant use. The old Interjection of sorrow, eala pæt! now takes a French form,

Allas! pat he shal perwith fare!-P. 45.

The French allaz, now helas, is often met with.

In the poem on the Assumption, about 1280, space is used of time, not of place: 'give them space to amend,' p. 48. In the King Horn the French words are many, and some of them are forced into English idioms, as I me dute (p. 10) for I fear me. 1 Sir is attached to words other than proper names, as sire kyny (p. 23). We see he is of age (p. 38): there is also squier, gravel, wicket, bitraie: the verb arrive is in constant use. We hear of a giant from Paynyme (p. 23), and of an oath bi Seint Gile (p. 33). We see gigour (violin-player) at p. 42; perhaps our jiy comes from this. There are also cler. oste (hospes), porter, store. Another version of the Floriz and Blancheflur was compiled about twenty years after this time; it is printed along with the other poems I have analysed, and begins at p. 101.2 We have seen that in this Century oi in English had the sound of the French ou or ou-i; we now find it once more taking the sound of the French ai. At p. 106 the proper name Doyre rimes with fayre; soon afterwards the former is written Dayre. The French oi was sounded like their ou-i in boil, and like their ai in loi. The old coint

¹ We may still hear doubt used for fear; as 'I doubt you want a dose.' The French used it is this way.

² In the second page of this we find *faderlonde*; this long ago died out in England, but was brought over from Germany in our own times.

(cognitus) about this time changed from the *cuint* of Philip de Thaun to *queint*. The old *faible* has given us two words, *foible* and *feeble*; all three must have been formerly pronounced in the same way.

In the Lyric Poems of 1280 the French words are many; in p. 75 we see atscapen, a combination of the English atstyrtan and the French eschaper. At p. 100 comes dempned, a compromise between the English deman and the French damner. About this year, 1280, the two languages were beginning to mingle together. We find expressions like make my pees (p. 100), kepe counte, p. 152 (Political S.), compas a life, p. 202. There are also bailif, tax, paroshe, motum (ovis), crust. There is vouchsave, which stands alone, I think, as a combination of an Adjective and Verb in one word. Fine is used for a mulci, p. 202 (Political S.). Trous (trowsers) may be found in p. 110 (Lyric P.); and douse, in p. 111, is the French Adjective long afterwards applied to David Deans.

Many new French words are seen for the first time in the Tristrem; among them are the Nouns money,

¹ In France the opposite took place; for there the ou-i sound of oi has almost wholly driven out the ê sound of oi. After this time ou-i became ou-e in the Fifteenth Century and ou-a in the Sixteenth. The old fey (fides) lost its old sound and became fou-e, fou-a, and fo-a. Palsgrave, in 1530, tells us that droit and victoire were pronounced as droat and victoare. François (the name-of the nation) keeps the ê sound of oi; François (the name of the Saint) keeps the ou-e, ou-a, sound. Royaume, however, as Littré tells us, was pronounced rê-ô-m by some even so late as the Seventeenth Century. On the other hand, even in 1830, Lafayette sounded roi as roué, imitating Louis the Fourteenth and Louis the Fifteenth. See Brachet, Etymological French Dictionary, LIX.

quarter, barber, usher, present, lodge. Pain is found by the side of the English pine: there is also the French nerou (nephew), which has now driven out the Old English nefa and the Scandinavian neft, at least from polite speech. The Old French had two corruptions of scandalum; these were escandle and esclandre: the former, with its head clipped, appears in the Ancren Riwle; the latter is first found in the Tristrem under the form of slaunder (p. 123). Both of these foreign forms have thriven among us; and I see that some of our fine writers have lately taken a great fancy to the form esclandre. Mariner is found; it is one of our few French-born words that are more poetic than their English synonyms; courser and selle stand on the same level: the most earnest of Teutons would not, I think, object to the phrase 'Land of the Leal.' Cattle killed at Martinmas for winter provision are still called marts in Scotland; in our copy of the Tristrem this is written martirs (p. 32); it was a word that the transcriber did not understand. In p. 112 vertu is used for potentia; we still say 'by virtue of this.' The French word cuntre had already been used by us for patria; it now stands for populus; in p. 148, we hear that the cuntre was y-gadred. A few years later, the word was further to stand for rus. At p. 92 we hear that a blow no vailed o botoun (button). The Adverb prest (cito) appears (p. 183). The Verbs joien (enjoy), croise, wage (wager), and depart (sunder) appear; also bisege, where the English Preposition has been set before a French root. We hear of a fourched tre; here a French word has the English Participial ending in ed fastened on. We first

see saun fayl at p. 51, and we then find, at p. 128, the French Preposition set before an English word; san schewe; this usage lasted down to 1600; maugre had been treated much in the same way. The oath Dathet is in constant use. There is a new idiom in p. 20: allas that ich (ilk) while, like Chaucer's alas the day! The O was used only before a Vocative in Layamon; it now becomes an exclamation, and no case need follow: O thou slough (slew) Moraunt (p. 166).

We see in the Tristrem, even more than in the other English works of 1280, how the compromise between French and Teutonic, henceforth to prevail in our land, was being carried out. The decay of our mother-tongue, that had being going on for sixty years, was now at last to be arrested. ¹

In the Poem on the Body and Soul, the remarkable French words are *caitif*, and *slave*, opposed to *maister*, p. 336. The latter word had hitherto been usually a synonym for *doctor*. There is *mes* (epula), and *sise*, which was generally written *asise*.

I have already remarked upon the many new French words to be found in the Kentish Sermons; we biep i-entred into &c. is a curious idiom. We find travail, divers, asoil, desever, move, ensample, verray. Cors (corpus) lasted in this form to 1600. There are both paens

¹ Scott, in adding a few stanzas to the *Tristrem*, was hardly so happy as when he imitated the old ballads in his rimes on the field of Harlaw. I will point out a few words and forms used by him which could never have been found in Yorkshire in 1280: different, prepare, heildom, she was sent for, he layne (jacebat), sole (anima), flore (flos), tare (lachryma). The Active Participle sayling could not have been used in Yorkshire.

(pagans) and Painime whence comes our Paynim.¹ The French word umble is first found in p. 30; it is odd that this word should first appear in Uriah Heep's shire. When we borrow French Verbs with an Infinitive in ir, we form our new words from the Active Participle in issant; we find perissi, not perir, (perish) in these Homilies; in the next Century the doubled s was to become sh. Our distortion of these Verbs in ir is most curious.

In the Herefordshire Poems of 1290, we see the French for the first time encroaching upon English numerals; a doseyn of doggen (p. 239, Political Songs.). Jolyf is applied to a lady (p. 52, Lyric Poems), and seems here, following the French, to refer more to her mind than to her body; our jolly girl may be derived from this. The French jolif is said to come from the Yule of the conquerors of Normandy; a few years later, we shall find the f clipped. We see bealté (p. 53, do.); this represents an old bellitus; the word had been hitherto unchanged in England since the Norman Conquest, but in the Twelfth Century, bel in some provinces of France was replaced by biau. This new form came to England; the French au had the sound of their present ou, for about this year 1290 we find beute written as an English word in Yorkshire; ewe stood with us for the French e-uu (aqua); long afterwards, about 1660, beau (bo) came to England, representing a third French sound of the Latin bellus; the e in the French word was no longer pronounced, having been dropped after

The old raganus lasted down to 900 in France in the shape of pagiens.

Beza's time.¹ When we say, 'Mr. Bellamy has the bewty of a beau,' we bear witness to the fact, that three different French corrupt sounds of bellus have been brought to England in three different ages. Beaulieu in Hampshire is still called Bewly; Bewfort and Mews were written in England for Beaufort and Meaux down to 1470 or so. With this series of varying forms, we may compare our treat, trait, tract; leal, loyal, legal; candle, chandler, chandelier; gentle, genteel, Gentile.²

The Cursor Mundi is plainly a translation from the French. Bot, the French mais, begins an Imperative sentence abruptly, in p. 1036. Quat is used to English the French que, in p. 940; quat yee er a felun folk! Three hundred years later, this appears as 'what a felon folk ye are!' The French form Marz, not Orrmin's Marrch, is used for the month. There are shoals of French words in the poem. We sometimes find them with an English prefix, as unmesur, unresun, unpes; our astray is seen as o strai in p. 394; there is also a-trott, p. 906. The French ess was coming in as a suffix; we find leoness in p. 708. But the Old English endings were tacked on to French roots, as in faithless, clearness; there is also faithful, tresunful; over is prefixed to a French root, as overpas. The Greek Verb-ending ize, which had come through Italy to France, is now seen in England, where it was to form so many new Verbs in

¹ See Littré for the word beau; the Picards still sound bieuté and biauté.

² These different forms of one word seem to be most attractive to Englishmen; a worthy man, a flovice in classic lore, has lately put forth in print the verb deducate, not being satisfied with deduce and deduct!

the Nineteenth Century. At p. 18 we hear that Jesu baptist Johan, and that the latter was named the baptist; we also find evangelist. The Teutonic warning (admonitio) is altered into warnissing, p. 1254, but only in the Yorkshire copies; this is a confusion with the French quarnir, garnir, and seems mere affectation. The imprecation daheit is seen, but was not to last much longer; the three later copies throw it out. The old hal and sund (such was our love of Alliteration) becomes sauf and sond in p. 454; in p. 1348 men see God face wit face. The word sir now stands alone by itself, as in p. 590. We find the English corruption of dominus, upon which I have already remarked; in p. 762 St. Matthew is called Dun Levi. There is both the old Petre and the new Peris (Piers) in p. 764. We see Dinis and Ambros, names of Saints. There is Simond instead of Simon, in p. 804, a curious way of rounding off a word; it has left its trace in the proper name Simmonds. We see both Lazarus and the French form Lazar. French words used about 1290 in Yorkshire, but not understood elsewhere, are canels (canals), p. 114, franckelain (dominus), p. 312, which is opposed to thain (servus); pelf (our pilfer), p. 356. The Substantive pelf came to stand for property, just as the Americans use the word plunder. At Lincoln is a place called the Grecian stairs; we see the source of this in p. 608. where a flight of stairs is called a grece. In p. 1236 we find be dai o be mande; hence Maunday Thursday. In p. 1246 we hear of the defend tre (forbidden). To ball (dance) was not understood out of Yorkshire (p. 754). We see the form atend in p. 1248, though this was

commonly written tend or tent in Yorkshire. The Verb cuple had been used in England; but we now first find the Noun, p. 584. The French save is used for præter: in p. 1116 we hear that all fled, sauve be apostels. The French Verb sacrer gave us the Participle sacrid, p. 1116, which we have come to look upon as an Adjective. In p. 1142 we hear that God regards not man's persun: this is what the prosopon of the Greek Testament expresses; we now often use person for corpus. Centurion becomes centener in p. 1140. The French venin is turned into venim (venom), p. 1204; just as the old Tentonic snacc (fishing boat) has been by us There is a curious French idiom in turned into smack. p. 1340: 'they should have sorrow, es par na dute;' we should now simply say, no doubt. In p. 1322, a man makes mendes (amends); amendment is also found.

We see two forms of one Adverb, in certes and St. John is called in p. 634, a wel gold pece; certainlik. we still speak of a man as 'a piece of affectation.' We were losing our English names for 'the Five Wits,' which we now call senses; in p. 650 comes the phrase, 'he had his tast toched of the Holy Ghost.' The word caitif appears again; it was quite a Northern phrase. We now use quantity in rather a loose way, as 'a quantity of goods; 'this is first seen in p. 712; 'we sal it length (lengthen) a quantite; 'the two last words must here mean somewhat. The French part had already appeared; we now find, 'tell pam, o mi parti' (on my behalf), p. 736. The verb grudge had two meanings: one Intransitive, murmurare, which was to linger on in common use for three Centuries after its first appearance

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in the Ancren Riwle; 1 the other Active sense, that of invidere, which we still keep, now first appears; in p. 760 comes pair heling groched he pam noght. French verb damp (damno) was replacing the English deme, as in p. 788. The word travail stands for parturitio as well as for labor; Rebecca's peculiar travelling is described in p. 206, while in p. 212 we hear that life seems travail to an old man; this word seems to have got confused with trouble in later times. In p. 200 we first meet with the phrase 'to lose countenance;' the Noun was new in England. Country had before this been used for patria and populus, it now stands for rus; in p. 250, Potiphar goes into the contre. We find a common idiom of ours in p. 910; be time was past midmight; in the later copies over is inserted before the last word: we now use past like a Preposition. The French marche is here preferred to the English mearc; and targe, common to both tongues, is pronounced in the French way; see p. 574. Pinion stands for pinnacle in p. 744. There is maumentri in p. 1258, the word for superstitious juggling, borrowed from the great Arabian; this lingered in England for 300 years. The form maledight (cursed) is an ingenious attempt to fit an English ending to a French word; the French des is altered into English mis in p. 858, where mismay comes instead of desinay. The technical word for metre, bastune, appears in p. 854. There is a curious attempt to turn a French ending into a kindred English ending,

¹ This old sense is kept in our Bible: 'grudge not against one another, brethren.' But *grudge*, where Tyndale used it in this sense, has been often struck out of the Bible by the men of 1611.

when servand is written for servant, p. 738. In p. 876, Christ washes his disciples' feet, and bids them bear with one another, sin I has pus-gat servid yuu. The serve here seems to partake of both the meanings that we now apply to the Verb; servire and tractare. In the earliest Yorkshire copy, we come upon spite, p. 890; in the other copies it is the old dispite; we here get a hint of the quarter whence many of our clippings have come. . In p. 896 spirit appears as spreit. On reading the line, to-quils he lai in orisun, p. 892, we see how the old French oreisun had to undergo that thoroughly English habit, the throwing back the accent to the third syllable from the end. The old $hon\bar{u}r$ is pronounced $h\bar{o}nur$, line 6567. It is curious that up is coupled with the French word liver (tradere), liver his maister up, p. 908; since that time the up has been placed after many other Verbs, in the Scandinavian way. Sometimes an English and French Adjective, with the same meaning, are coupled together; as his aun propur might, p. 1074. We see quarner, p. 1096; in the three later versions this is altered into corner, the form that we still keep. p. 1252 stands 'do pair dever' (duty). In p. 442 comes 'he paind him to make' &c., and in p. 1358, 'we will do ur pain: hence our 'take pains to;' but the French peine usually in England bore a harsher meaning than that of labor. There is another attempt at a Middle Verb, repentes yow, p. 1094. We hear of King Arthur's ronde tabell, p. 8; it was this that made round so common a word that it even became a Preposition, and drove out the old umbe (amphi). We find the phrase do justice, and also the Passive Participle he baptist, 'the

taptized.' In brek to pes, we see a foreign word brought in to get rid of the Old English compound to-brek; the North parted with these compounds long before the South West did. In the Havelok, the pieces of this phrase had been represented by the English grotes (fragmenta).

Among other new French words are found proloug (proogue), prient (print), dubul (double), fable, funnel, wrcher, dinner, forest, odor, purveyor, tassel, force, simph, ribodi (ribaldry), page (puer, a word unknown, it seems, in France before 1200), nece (niece), cosin, printiz (prentice), faciun (fashion), still (style), pas (pace) stank (tank), monument, tenur (tenor), parchemin, visage, mesel (leper), litter, poudre, flourish, daunt, front, affair, allow, meschive, fortune, mer (mayor), bandun (abandon), try, mace, lege lord, in vain, special, diademe, enterval (interval), brai, abortive, surfeit, grievance, range, vice, principal, respite, valley, titel, square. Idiot is in the earliest copy alone; in the three later ones (p. 600) the word, though at the end of a line, is changed into fole, and the other line is altered, so as to rime with the new word. Noah is ordered to have a wardropp (wardrobe) in the Ark, p. 104. A French word and an English word are coupled in term-dai, p. 1230. It is rather strange to find so pronounced a Latin form as auctorite, p. 1236; but this form lasted in France down to 1600, though Palsgrave says that the c was not pronounced. Tyndale has the same form.

Among French words made familiar to us by religion are, supplanter, santuare (sanctuary), propiciatori, substance, respond, task, testament, stature, confund, creatur, sesun, provide, concord, savour, vengeance, buels (bowels),

conceive, errour, avocat, organ, lamp, covenant, receive, violence, confirm, vessel, ravish, translate, transfigure, crucify, faint, victory, honest, reherce, supper, remissinn, resurrecciun, naciun, convert, restore, ascensión, langage, puplicane, dampnaciun, multiply, condenn, descend, dissenciun, discord, sauveur (saviour), mater, avail, conquerour, enchanter, affliction, untment (ointment), promission, conclude, communit, genelogi (genealogy), elements, scripture, govern, ordain. The sacrament of baptim, a form that lasted with us down to the Reformation, comes in p. 730; the form seems to show that the French now no longer pronounced the s, which they always wrote in baptesme. We find also in this piece the Verbal Noun baptiszing, p. 734. We see abime (abyss) in The old Cristendom makes way for the new French form cristianité, p. 130. Clergie means scientia in p. 488; we know our 'benefit of clergy.' But it takes another meaning, and stands for the Latin ckrici in p. 1236. Pharaoh's host mount cartes when they chase Israel, p. 360; but the French chare (chariot) is also employed, as in p. 302.

As to the French words in the Percival and Isumbras, the most important is our common just, used in the sense of right, even; in p. 11 comes his hode was juste to his chynne; it is curious that just should be found in this sense before its meaning of equity appeared in England. The new words found in the Tristrem,

¹ Littré does not give a French instance of the contraction buptême earlier than Bossuet; the seems always to have been inserted, at least in writing. I think that the Cursor Mundi is the earliest evidence as to the loss of the French s in pronouncing the word.

pend (pertinere) and bisege, are here repeated. There are also paw and cushion, I think for the first time. Raye (rex) is in p. 8; the form roy was often used in Scotland down to the Reformation, but never took root in Southern England : eale (aquila) is in p. 103, though the old earn made a long fight for existence, even in the South. A man is said to pray enterely (in good earnest), p. 106; hence the Irish 'I'm kilt entoirly.' Mercy is used in the sense of beneficium, p. 89. The word travel, as we saw in the Cursor, was being hard worked in the North: the travellande man (viator) is first seen in p. 38. We hear of a wayte (watchman), p. 47; the Noun is not yet extinct in England. The French word study now stands for deep thought; in p. 66 comes '(he) wanne owt of study.' Fail takes an accusative: the Saruzenes faylede hym, p. 117; certevne is used as an Adverb, p. 74.

The French words in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle abound, as was natural under the circumstances. We see the French ante written aunte, as we still write the first vowel; there is also aumperour. We now began to talk of Germanie and Saxonie; in p. 162 we are told that the former land is Alimayne; there is also Grece and Gasconye. We hear in p. 441 of the Abbey of Fonteynes. What we call Brittany is Brutayne in p. 459. We see both Beaumond and Beulu, King John's Abbey; the latter word is in p. 493. I have already pointed out that the old sound of the Norman eau (ew) has not yet left the name of this Hampshire place. Chatew is in p. 113. The oi is used to express the French & as well as ou. Hence arose endless confusion;

we see creyserie for a derivative of the Latin cru-cem; all this comes from the French having used oi to express two different sounds. We see preye (præda), p. 270; the French wrote it proie, and corrupted their old sound of this word, while we English keep the true pronunciation. Estrange loses its first letter in p. 510.

The Latin aer now appears as eyr. In verdyt, elit, and cors, which are all found here, we have inserted Consonants since Robert's time, preferring the Latin to the French form. The foreign propos becomes porpos (purpose), p. 558. The regn (reign) in p. 254 follows the French closely. In the forms Feverer and Jenyver (pp. 399, 408) Robert sticks closely to his original; there is also Jun. Robert Courthose is called quarry in p. 412, showing how the French once pronounced their present carré. The Fitz, so common in our proper names, is seen as Fiz, p. 551. The form messinger, with the n in the middle, is found in p. 128.

Robert was the first man who dated in English from the 'year of grace.' A fashion is seen of rolling French and English words into one, as Courthose, pecemele; but we must remember that gem-stone came long before the Norman Conquest. There are compounds like hauteness, vantward (vanguard), a peyre hose, p. 390. Peace is freely used: 'make his pes,' p. 57, 'sit in pes,' &c. Peer is treated like a Substantive, as in Philip de Thaun's work: 'find here pere' (their match), p. 103. 'Pyte yt was to' &c., is in p. 305; in the same page we first hear of a 'poer (power) of fole,' like Virgil's canum vis. In

¹ About 1530, one of Tyndale's friends was known as Joy, Jay, and Gee, showing that oi was then still pronounced as ay in England.

'no manere harm,' p. 359, an of is dropped before the last word. English asserts its growing terseness, even in translating; the Northern men had a similar form, nakin harm. There are such very French forms as sousprior and Sink Pors, p. 515; these are called in p. 51 be fuf portes. The clos and the street are coupled in p. 7: Scott heartily loved the old term. Our modern pennya-liners are trying to replace household by ménage; they may fairly appeal to a passage in p. 183. The word routier had an awful sound in our fathers' ears; in p. 297 it becomes roter, and Tyndale writes it rutter. A well-known legal term comes in p. 517; an eire of justize goes about. In p. 528 we hear of the commune (commons) of the Oxford clerks.

Among the Adjectives we see pur blind, where pur answers to the old clean; pure clene comes in p. 434. We know Scott's 'gentle and simple'; the latter word is seen as humilis in p. 95. The French form of nescius is seen as nyce in p. 106. In p. 549 certain men 'hold themselves defensable,' that is, defend themselves; hence comes our word Fencibles, clipped in the usual English way. This Adjective has an active, not a passive meaning, which is rather uncommon in words ending in able or ible. Certain is used for quidam, not for certus, in p. 107: by certein messageres.

The Verb fail governs an Accusative, p. 195, as in Yorkshire. The old Teutonic oder is now replaced by secund, a wonderful change, p. 414.

The Teutonic adverbial ending is added to French roots, as pitosliche, feinteliche, sodeinliche. In 515 we see our common scarseliche (vix); enfin is translated atte fine, p. 27; for he cas hat is a new way of Englishing quia; we are not far from because.

There are new words like metal, concubine, despise, alied to, gransyre, obligi, Parlement, main, fosse, baneret, cirurgian, meschance, comfort, suit (of clothes, p. 191), collar, souple, spicer, soveryn, tailor, chair, glose, sauf condut, libel, trespas, carpenter.

There are phrases like 'marry my daughter to a bachelor,' p. 30; 'have some colour of right,' p. 313; 'to be in company,' p. 429; 'to amend such maners,' p. 533; 'to make wardens of Frenchmen,' p. 550; 'to compass a thing,' p. 109.

Milton has a famous passage in his 'Areopagitica' about an eagle muing her youth; this French corruption of mutare is seen here in p. 550, where wardens of castles are iremewed (changed).

In the Lives of the Saints (Philological Society), the French Proper Names come in; such as Jake (Jacques), Lucie, and the town of Athenes (Athens). An Archbishop elect speaks to certain messengers as beau freres, p. 82. A child addresses its mother as madame, p. 40. There are also the words uncle, perche, keverchief, fisicien; this last word Tyndale used instead of leech. Contrai men stand for agricolæ in p. 44. In p. 52 comes bi cas (by chance). In p. 76 a threat is made will so gret eir; hence, 'give himself great airs.' The French jolyf is used as we now employ jolly (lætus), in p. 46. There is a piling up of the Comparative sign

Aire was used for manner in France in the Eleventh Century. It is strange that this meaning could ever come from the Latin aer; Littre has a long note on the point.

in noblerere (nobilior), p. 55; they could not as yet quite understand how to make foreign words run smoothly in English. In p. 78 St. Edmund loses his bodily power, but has all his thoughts delyvre; this Adjective came to stand for the Latin liber, and it may have influenced our use of clever. We see a French Participle appear in p. 41; a man is repentant of his deeds. In .p. 78 the French Verb use supplants our own brucan; (frui is the kindred Latin word). St. Edmund usede our Lord's flesh (the Eucharist). In p. 117 a man wishes 'to parie an apple.'

In the Legend of St. Brandan (Percy Society) we find herbs (a word afterwards much used by Tyndale), queor (choir), grape (uva), instead of the old win-berry, p. 19. This seems to be the true old French phrase, now supplanted in France by raisin; Littré quotes sanc de grape (vinum) from a piece of the Twelfth Century. In p. 23 comes, 'have a good case of us.'

In the Treatise of Science, belonging to the same manuscript, the new French words are qualite, ocean, deserve (no longer ofserve), a hare's forme.

In the St. Margaret (Early English Text Society) come tourmentz, take consail, be in orcisons, boil, vile, upe (at) his coust, entente, thou hast no part wip me, signe of be croiz; in p. 26 crie and grede are found side by side.

In the Becket of the same manuscript (Percy Society), we remark that in 1300 we pronounce use much as we do now, for it is there written yuse, p. 23. So, in this Severn country, ewt was written for ould. Tirant, p. 36, takes the intruded t at the end. The persona ecclesiae, mentioned in the Constitutions of Clarendon 130 years earlier, now appear as persones, p. 124; persone is used for curé in French poems of that Century. We see accounts, lay fee, advowson, maner (manor), hold in chief, asoil, distrain, pardon, blanket, in prejudice of him. profession, aleggi, surance (assurance). There is the renowned peraventure, p. 91, which Tyndale has made immortal; also the oath parde, p. 106. There are phrases like 'pay his court,' p. 11; 'do us grace,' p. 69. In p. 61 is the cry merci! standing by itself. In the one page 31. St. Thomas calls himself both warde (custos) and wardenn of the Church. In this poem, we can watch the change in the meaning of words; a clerk is iproved for felon in p. 35; a son proves (evenit) evil, in p. 121.1 In p. 110 blood runs al round aboute the Saint's head; this is a mixture of Romance and Teutonic synonyms. In p. 21 St. Thomas promises to keep the laws, 'sauvé oure rizte;' in p. 105 this Past Participle is turned, as it were, into a Preposition; 'I love no man more, sauf his fader.'

A new idiom for the Future Participle was coming in; in p. 40 we see he was upe the poynte to be icast; about to implied intense earnestness; it could not express the bare Future until two hundred years later.

In the Alexander, the chief French words are fairye,

¹ Jekyll's rimes, punning on three different words, are well known; when Garrow, in Court, was in vain trying to badger an ugly old woman into the admission, that a legath tender had been made:

'Garrow, forbear; that tough old jade Will never prove a tender maid.'

The meaning of the word prove slipped from probare into probari, and then into evenire.

sojour, amblant (of a horse), beef and motoun, p. 218; bonie (bonny) londis, p. 161; reirwarde, p. 317; perforce, gardin, terrene, the remenaunt, launche, p. 155, distinguished from the other form launce in p. 71; the kyngis persone, p. 305; be certeyn, give asant; dereworth is making way for precious, when jewels are mentioned. We have seen how round was coming in; it now began to be used as a Preposition, 'this is round the mydell erd,' p. 29. In the Life of Becket, this takes an English prefix, and becomes around, like a strai. The French saunz, so well known to Shakespere, is used in saunz fayle. The word pes (peace) is used much as an Interjection in p. 315. Romance Verbs imitated their English brethren; thus, 'they buth passed over a water,' p. 87, is clearly copied from the Teutonic idiom, 'he is gone over,' &c.

In the Handling Synne, the French form beaute takes in English the form beute; see p. 394, where they stand side by side; this is another proof that the French eau was once pronounced as they now sound iou. We see the English tendency to contract, when parshe (parish) appears in p. 123; the French word to be translated was parochiens. The word parsone (clericus) comes in the French original, p. 152. The French deakene (diaconus), p. 275, becomes dekene. In. p. 100, escharnir is Englished by scorn, the word used by Orrmin a hundred years earlier. In p. 30, les tempestes cesserent is translated by tempest secede; we have long confounded the sound of c with that of s. In p. 109 we see how liquid Consonants run into each other:

What sey ze, men, of ladyys pryde, pat gone traylyng over syde?

This in the French is trainant; thus Bononia became Bologna, and Lucera was sometimes written Nucera. Our language is richer than the French, since we have both trail and train; the latter is seen in Norfolk in The destresse of Robert of Gloucester here becomes stresse, p. 89, and this form appears in Norfolk The de in defend is clipped in p. 231, where fende appears; hence our fenced cities. French words, like their English brethren, underwent clipping in the Danelagh; enticer becomes tyse in page 4. r is thrown out, when pallesye (palsy) is written for paralysy, p. 370; again in p. 342 sacristan is written selesteyn, whence comes sexton. charstier is sometimes translated chasty, but in p. 152 it becomes chastyse, without any need of rime; this must have come from seeing the word written chastizen; the z (our y) was mistaken for a z; Orrmin had already

There are new words like orryble, properties, tenedone this. ment, prayerc, renoun, morsel, tryfyl, usurer, valeu, a fair, affynyte, dysport, pompes, vycary (vicar), p. 360, csquaymous (squeamish), moreyne (pestis), postelens, uffray (tumultus), customer (solitus), p. 273; proverb, enterlude, dance, carol, creme, abusched, hutch. Age stands for senectus in p. 239; it was to drive out eld for many years. Our bard finds it needful to give long explanations in English rime of the strange words mattok, sacrilege, and miner (pp. 31, 266, and 331). There are phrases like on al manere (by all means), p. 62; oute of resoune, p. 71; make mention of, p. 324; make hym be mowe, p. 125, whence comes the phrase 'make mouths at me,' in our Prayer-book; 1 'revers to holynes,' p. 343; 'yn comune,' p. 322; 'assoil a man clear,' p. 360; 'go home a gode pas (pace),' p. 322; 'crye zow mercy,' p. 275; 'Gode is of longe suffraunce,' p. 302; 'know for certeyn,' p. 265; 'zyne lytel fors of hym,' p. 318; an exact translation from the French, though we now supplant fors by account; the former word was in this sense to last down to Udall's time.

The fashion now begins of conferring the masculine gender upon French Substantives ending in é or ie: Byron, Bryant, and Longfellow, have continued this custom; Robert speaks of Charyte as he, in p. 469 of my Book. The old word syfernes is dropped, and the kindred French word sobreté is translated by soberte, our sobriety. In p. 149 nycete stands for folly; it was soon to get the further sense of wantonness, which it never had in France. In p. 56, joly stands for riotous; yf a man be of In p. 228 there is a piling up of French and joly life. English synonyms; on many maner dyvers wase. In p. 273 en le geor is turned into yn pe chaunsel. We find our county court in p. 276, where the French seculer plai, cum est cunte, is turned into lay court, or elles counte. In p. 75 the word party gets its modern meaning:

> pys aperyng, yn my avys, Avaylede to bobe partys.

In p. 229 single is opposed to married; simples hom is Englished by sengle knave. In p. 152 assyse stands for a trial before a Judge; it had borne this sense in France

¹ This is a good example of the confusion between a Romanca and a Teutonic word,

in the Twelfth Century. In p. 359, yeste seems to add the meaning of jocus to that of historia; the Magdalen laughs neither for game nor for geste. In p. 108, we learn that women set their hearts on being called Madame or Lady; 'wurdys of wurschyp.' The Sir was freely used; we hear of Sir Simony, pp. 173-174; 'pe parysshe prest Syre Robert,' (the first instance of this clerical title of honour in English), p. 285; it was to last for 300 years. In p. 340 stands Syre Symalus the Pope; in p. 345 folk are said to wed for the love of Syre Kateyl (propputy, propputy); in p. 363 the poet tells of his own experience, in reproving sinners:—

Some sey, as y have herde, 'A! Syre! so sinnep alle pe worlde.'

In p. 224 we further hear of Seynt Charyte, a phrase that lasted down to Shakespere's time; ¹ in p. 149 charyte stands for alms, as in the French original; la charite luy enveia. The word clerc is used, not of a priest, but of a notary, in p. 180. An English ending is fastened on to a French root in the case of largeness, p. 219, and pityfully, p. 49. In p. 72 we see the unhappy French word, which has driven out the true English afeard, at least from polite speech. Fu tant affraic is there turned into he was a frayde.² In this poem we further see the French peyne driving out the older pinc.

¹ Tyndale, p. 21, not far from the end of Vol. II., has to defend his philology from More's attack, and so gives all the senses borne by *charity* in 1530; the whole passage is well worth reading. He mentions 'sweet St. Charity.'

[&]quot; "In Isaiah lvii. 11, comes, 'of whom hast thou been afraid or foured?'

We find new Verbs like discumfyte, pele (spoliare), deyn, suppose, aim (æstimare), revyle, tremle, master (vincere). A child is daunted (dandled), p. 154; hair is dressed, p. 136; we come upon to amount unto synne, p. 141; 'quit thee well,' p. 296, though the Verb here means no more than liberare.

In p. 95 we see a sense that has long been given in England to the French touch, 'to speak of;' y touchede of pys yche lake. In p. 325 we light on the old coverde (convaluit); and in p. 222 we see the new French form recovere. In p. 352 comes pou shalt haste hyt, a translation of the French transitive verb.

There are both *verement* and *verryly*; the first in its foreign adverbial ending points to *mind*, the second in its English adverbial ending points to *lic* (body).

In p. 323, we see the beginning of what was to become a well-known English oath—

'Ye,' he seyde, 'graunte mercy.'

In the Medytacyuns of the Soper of oure Lorde, the new French words are real (verus), devoutly, array, carry, accept, pryme. Dame is used of a hen, p. 10; we now make a great difference between dame and dam. The Vocative seres, our sirs, comes in p. 27. Preise had hitherto meant laudare in England; in p. 11 it stands for æstimare; we now express this meaning of the Verb by prize or appraise. In p. 13, a French Past Participle takes the English adverbial ending; avysyly (advisedly). In p. 11 the meaning of the Latin quia is expressed by by cause pat, an improvement on the Gloucestershire for pe cus pat. In p. 29 comes the sentence, the others

bore all, save his mother bare his hand; no that comes after the save; and Horace's excepto quod, &c. is thus pared down in English. 'Be of good comfort,' is in p. 35.

I again return to the Handlyng Synne, for I have kept to the last the greatest changes of all that are found in that poem; in p. 321 we find a French Active Participle doing duty for a Preposition:

Passyng alle pyng hyt hap powere.

Mandeville has 'passynge old'; and sixty years later this French participle was to be used like an Adverb; later still, like an Adjective. Chaucer has 'he is a passyng man.'

In p. 180 comes

My body y take pe here to selle To sum man as yn bondage.

This bondage (called bondehede in the Lancashire version of the Cursor Mundi, p. 314) is the first of many words in which a French ending was permanently tacked on to an English root. I say permanently, for Robert of Gloucester had already coined the word reverye (spoliatio) to rime with robbery, meaning the same, p. 193; but this term was not employed later in England; shreward had also come in 1264, being coined to rime with Edward; but it never took root. We see lestagium (lading-toll) in a Charter of Henry the First's to London.

A great change indeed was coming over England about the year 1300, from the Severn to the Humber; the old Teutonic sources of diction had been sadly dried

¹ Stubbs, Documents illustrative of English History, p. 103.

up, and could no longer supply all her wants; Germany was to have a happier lot, at least in speech. Nothing can more clearly set forth the inroad of the French than the following sentence, which is made up of words in the every-day use of the lowest among us:

'In the mean time of course I immediately, at half past four, walked quite round the second of the walls, because perhaps it might have been very weak, just as it used to be.'

We should find it hard to change these foreign words in italics for Teutonic equivalents, without laying ourselves open to the charge of obsolete diction. England, too careless of her own wealth, has had to draw upon France even for Prepositions and Conjunctions. After reading such a sentence as the one above, we are less astonished to find words like face, roice, dress, flower, river, uncle, cousin, pass, touch, pray, try, glean, which have put to flight the commonest of our Teutonic words. Strange it is that these French terms should have won their way into our hovels as well as into our manor houses!

So barren had our tongue become by the end of this unlucky Thirteenth Century, that henceforward we had to import from abroad even our Terminations, if we wanted to frame new English Nouns and Adjectives. We were in process of time to make strange compounds like godd-ess, forbear-ance, odd-ity, nigg-ard, uphear-al, starv-ation, trust-ee, fulfil-ment, latch-et, wharf-inger, kinglet, fish-ery, behav-iour, tru-ism, love-able, whims-ical, tulk-ative, slumbr-ous.¹ What a falling off is here! what a lame ending for a Teutonic root!

¹ Let us keep happify at bay! The worst compound I ever met

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.

We were also to forget the good Old English Adjectival isc or ish, and to use foreign endings for proper names like Alger-ine, Guel-ic, Syri-ac, Chin-ese, Wykehamist, Wesley-an, Irving-ite, Dant-esque. Cromwell in his despatches talks of the Lincoln-eers.

By-and-by French Prefixes drove out their English brethren, even when the root of the word was English; we are now doomed to write embolden and enlighten, and to replace the old edniwian by renew. We keep the old mynan in 'mind you do it;' but mynegian has made way for remind. Mistrust has been almost wholly driven out by distrust. I remark a tendency in our days to substitute sub for under in composition, and non for un; as sublet, non-possessive. We have happily two or three Teutonic endings still in use, when we coin new Adjectives and Nouns; one of these is ness. It had English rivals in full vigour at the end of the Fourteenth Century, but they have now dropped out of use; what our penny-a-liners now call inebriety might in 1380 be Englished not only by Chaucer's dronkenesse, but by Wickliffe's drunkenhede, by Mirc's dronkelec, and by

with was mob-ocracy. I half fear to point it out, lest the ponny-aliners should seize upon it as a precious jewel. What a difference does the Irish ending een make when added to squire! In Miss Martineau's Life, Vol. III., we find such American gems as egg-andmilkism, anti-analgamationist.

¹ In this last word the old Teutonic ending isc has gone from Germany to Italy, then to France, and at last to England. We get some idea of the influence Rome has had upon England, in various ways, when we find no less than four derivatives: Roman, Romish, Romance, Romanesque.

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Gower's drunkeshepe.¹ Our lately-coined pigheadedness and longwindedness show that there is life in the good old ness yet; we should always write advisableness, promptness, exactness, not advisability, promptitude, exactitude. The old er is well preserved in missioner; the common people call a Belgian a Belger. Such new Substantives as Bumbledom and rascaldom prove that dom is not yet dead; and such new Adjectives as peckish and rubbishy show a lingering love for the Old English Adjectival endings. I have lately seen, not only wordy, but viewy. There is a wonderful difference between a good book and a goody book.

More than one Englishman might when a child have given ear to the first Franciscan sermons ever heard in Lincolnshire, and might at fourscore and upwards have listened to the earliest part of the Handlyng Synne. Such a man (a true Nævius), on contrasting the number of newfangled Romance terms common in 1300 with the hundreds of good old Teutonic words of his childhood, words that the rising generation understood not, might well mourn that in his old age England's tongue had become strange to Englishmen.² But about this time, 1300, the Genius of our language, as it seems,

¹ Other roots, with all these four endings, may be found in Stratmann's *Dictionary*.

² As to the speech of religion, compare the Creed at page 303, with the description of Charity at page 469; yet there are but sixty years between them. In later times, Caxton says that he found an amazing difference between the words of his childhood and those of his old age: Hobbes, Cibber, and Landor must have remarked the same, as to turns of expression. Language is so fleeting a thing, that it is wrong to talk of fixing it.

awoke from sleep, clutched his remaining hoards with tighter grip, and thought that we had lost too many old words already. Their rate of disappearance between 1220 and 1290 had been most rapid, as may be seen by the Table in page 587; had this process been continged at the same rate after 1290, we should not have had a single Tentonic Noun, Verb, or Adverb left by 1830. Some hundreds of these words were unhappily doomed to die out before 1520, but the process of their extinction was not speedy, as the same Table will show. After 1300, the Franciscans began to forsake their first love; one of the earliest tokens of the change was the rearing in 1306 of their stately new London Convent, which took many years to build, and where hundreds of the highest in the land were buried. arose in marked contrast to the lowly churches that had been good enough for the old friars, the first disciples of St. Francis. Their great lights vanished from Oxford; the most renowned name she boasts in the Fourteenth Century is that of their sternest foe. About 1320 they were attacked in English rimes, a thing unheard of in the Thirteenth Century. We now learn that a friar Menour will turn away from the needy to grasp at the rich man's gifts: the brethren will fight over a wealthy friend's body, but will not stir out of the cloister at a poor man's death; they

'wolde preche more for a busshel of whete, Than for to bringe a soule from helle out of the hete.' ¹

Political Songs (Camden Society), p. 331. Churchmen, lawyers, physicians, knights, and shopkeepers are all assailed in this piece.

These rimes were written about the date of Wickliffe's birth. Chaucer, rather later, brands the brethren as impostors; and a bard sixty years further on prefers still worse charges against them.1 The Franciscans had by this time done their work in England, though they were to drag on a sluggish life in our shires for two hundred years longer. Curious it is, that the time of their fiery religious activity coincides exactly with the time of England's greatest loss in a philologer's eyes.2

Robert of Brunne began his Handlyng Synne, as he tells us, in 1303; he must have taken some years to complete it. We possess it, not as he wrote it, but in a Southern transcript of 1360 or thereabouts; even in this short interval many old terms had been dropped. and some of the bard's Scandinavian words could never have been understood on the Thames. The transcriber writes more modern equivalents above those terms of Robert's which seemed strange in 1360. I give a few specimens, to show the change that went on all through the Fourteenth Century:-

Robert of	His Tran-	Robert of Brunne,	His Tran-
Brunne,	scriber about		scriber about
in 1303.	1360.	in 1303.	1360.
Gros	\mathbf{Dred}	bale	sorow
wlatys	lopep	yn lowe	fyre
wede (insam	is) made	layb	foule

Let a freer of sum ordur tecum pernoctare, Odur thi wyff or thi doughtour hic vult violare.

See Reliquiæ Antiquæ, II. 247. 2

Happy had it been for Spain if her begging friars, about the year 1480, had been as sluggish and tolerant as their English brothren.

His Transcriber, about 1360. carponters kepe plete wndyr godly moste toune slow strenkp brayn wepte tyme desyre boste shrewe ever more most forsake wey harme he zede he toke tyme haste teche wenche	Robert of Bruane, in 1303. fyn parmys mone warryng mysse wonde dere teyl tyne pele myrke seynorye rous aghte hals swyer cuntek hote ferde rape flytes y-dyt syde awe dryghe wlate	His Transcriber, about 1360. ende guttys warne cursing fayle spare harme scorne lese perche derke lordshyp proud wordys gode nek debate vowe zede sone chydely stoppyd long drede suffice steyn
	scriber, about 1360. carponters kepe plete wndyr godly moste toune slow strenkp brayn wepte tyme desyre boste shrewe ever more most forsake wey harme he zede he toke tyme haste teche	scriber, about 1360. carponters kepe plete wndyr godly moste toune slow strenkp brayn wepte tyme desyre boste shrewe ever more most forsake wey harme he zede he toke tyme 1360. fyn parmys mone warryng mysse wonde dere teyl tyne pele myrke seynorye rous aghte hals swyer cuntek hote ferde fiytes he zede he toke tyme haste teche fyn parmys mone warryng mysse wonde dere teyl swryne pele myrke seynorye rous forsake hals swyer ferde fytes y-dyt syde awe dryghe

Some of Robert's words, that needed explanation in 1360, are as well known to us in 1877 as those wherewith his transcriber corrected what seemed obsolete. Words will sometimes fall out of written speech, and crop up again long afterwards. Language is full of these odd tricks. ¹ It is mournful to trace the gradual

Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque Quæ jam sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus. loss of old words. This cannot be better done than by comparing three English versions of the Eleven Pains of Hell: one of these seems to belong to the year 1260, another to 1340, another to 1420. Each successive loss was of course made good by fresh shoals of French words. Steady indeed was the flow of these into English prose and poetry all through the Fourteenth Century, as may be seen by the following Table. I take from each author a passage (in his usual style) containing fifty Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs; and this is the proportion in which the words are employed:—

	Wor are	utonic ds that now solete.	Romance Words.
Old English Poetry, before 1066		25	-
Old English Prose, before 1066		12	
Orrmin and Layamon, about 1200		10	
Ancren Riwle, about 1220		9	-
Genesis and Exodus, Bestiary, about 1230		8	-
Owl and Nightingale, about 1240 .		7	
Northern Psalter, about 1250		6	
Proverbs of Hending, about 1260 .		5	
Love song (page 341), about 1270.		4	1
Havelok, Harrowing of Hell, about 1280		4	2
Kentish Sermons, about 1290		3	3
Cursor Mundi, about 1290		5	5
Robert of Glaucester, about 1300		3.	4
Robert Manning, in 1303		2	6
Shoreham, about 1320		.3	3

Old English Miscellany (Early English Text Society), pp. 147, 210, 223.

		Wor are	otonic ds that now solete.	Romance Words.
Auchinleck Romances, about 1830 .			:}	4
Hampole, about 1340			3	5
Minet, about 1350 · · ·			3	6
Piers Ploughman, in 1362			2	7
Chaucer (Pardoner's Tale), in 1390 .			2	8
Pecock, in 1450			1	10
Tecock, in 1490				12
Tyndale, in 1530	٠.			17
Defoe, in 1710 · · · ·				25
Macaulay, in 1840	•	•		44
Gibbon (sometimes)	•	•		1
Morris's Sigurd (sometimes) .	•	٠		I.

Robert of Brunne, the Patriarch of the New English, fairly well foreshadowed the proportion of outlandish gear that was to be the common rule in our land after his time. He has six French words out of fifty; a little later Mandeville and Chaucer were to have eight French words of fifty; this is the proportion in Shakespere's comic parts; and it is also the proportion in the every-day talk of our own time, as may be seen in the dialogues of Miss Yonge's and Mr. Trollope's works. We English are usually Teutonic enough in our careless off-hand speech; but the instant we prepare any prose to be printed, we scorn to tread our Teutonic mother earth with well assured step, and we hobble along, most of us

Only Nouns, Verbs, and Adverbs must be reckoned in these computations. As a general rule, these make up two-fifths of a sentence; the other parts of speech (almost wholly Teutonic) make up the remanuing three-fifths.

very awkwardly, upon Latin stilts; Dr. Johnson, not Defoe, then becomes our model. It may be, that the good example set by our poets, and the increasing heed bestowed upon the study of our noble tongue in all its stages, will in future years abate the Johnsonese nuisance; 1 perhaps even our penny-a-liners and our Aldermen may learn good taste 2. The Teutonic part of our tongue may be likened both to gold and to copper; it is chosen by our poets, the best of all experts, as the noblest vehicle of thought; 3 yet at the same time it is

1 One clever writer has lately attempted a defence of Dr. Johnson's pompous style, saying that the sage drew distinctions as he drew his breath, and that he could not express these distinctions without couching his diction in Latin-born phrases. The answer is most simple: he drew distinctions with equal subtilty when he was talking, and he expressed them in the homeliest Teutonic. He has had his reward: his Rambler lies unread on our book-shelves; his talk, as recorded by Boswell, is perused every year by thousands of delighted students. Any writer of our day, who has a mind to be read a hundred years hence, should lay the lesson to heart.

² I was lately much amused by a passage in one of the penny papers; the writer bade the gentlemen who are good enough to watch over the purity of the English language' consider, that our Teutonic words are mostly monosyllables, and are therefore very ugly. The British penny-a-liner, it would seem, does a service to the nation when he lugs in some long Latin word to express a simple idea. 'The minds of dull youths that think' is a poor and vulgar sentence to write; the idiosyncrasies of unintelligent adolescents that existimate, is of course a wondrous improvement. Monosyllables are no disadvantage; with them Shakespere and Milton produce most noble effects. The obnoxious words swarm in our version of Isaiah, perhaps the grandest pattern of English prose that we have.

3 I have in my mind Mr. Swinburne's 'Erechtheus' and Mr. Morris's 'Sigurd the Volsung.' These poems, in purity of diction, seem to go back six hundred years at least.

always being passed from hand to hand, as, it were, by seventy millions of our kin in their every-day speech. These ideas I hope to draw out still further in a future work.

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER VIII.

EXAMPLES OF ENGLISH.

I.

Runes on the Ruthwell Cross, of about the year 680.1

(On-) geredæ hinæ God almeyottig þa he walde on galgu gi-stiga modig fore (ale) men

(ahof) ic riienæ euninge heafunæs hlafard hælda ic (n)i darstæ bismærædu ungcet men ba ætgad(r)e ic (wæs) miþ blodæ bistemid

Krist wæs on rodi hwebræ þer fusæ fearran kwonu æþike ti lanum ic þæt al bi(h)eal(d) s(are) ic wæs mi(þ) sorgu(m) gi(d)ræ(fe)d

mip strelum giwundæd alegdun hiæ hinæ limwærignæ gistoddun him (æt) h(is l)icæs (h)eaf(du)m Girded him God almighty when he would on gallows mount proud for all men

I heaved the rich king heaven's lord heel (over) I durst not men mocked us both together

I was with blood besmeared

Christ was on rood but there hurriedly From afar they came the Prince to aid I beheld all that sore I was with sorrows harrowed

with arrows wounded they laid him down limb-weary they stood at his corpse's head

¹ Stephens, Runic Monuments, I. 405.

II.

MANUSCRIPT OF THE YEAR 737, CONTAINING LINES BY CADMON.1

Now must we praise Nu scylun hergan heaven kingdom's Warden hefaen ricaes uard the Creator's might metudæs mæcti and his mind's thought end his mod gidanc glorious Father of men uerc uuldur fadur as he of each wonder sue he uundra gihuaes eternal Lord eci drictin formed the beginning or astelidæ He erst shaped He ærist scop for earth's bairns elda barnum heaven as a roof heben til hrofe holy Shaper haleg scepen then mid-earth tha middun geard mankind's Warden mon cynnæs uard eternal Lord eci dryctin afterwards produced æfter tiadæ for men the earth firum foldu Lord Almighty. frea allmectig.

¹ Bosworth, Origin of the Germanic Languages, p. 57.

III.

THE EIGHTH PSALM, FROM THE NORTHUMBRIAN PSALTER, COMPILED ABOUT THE YEAR 850.

Dryht', dryht' ur, hu wundurlic is noma ðin in alre eorðan, for-ðon up-ahefen is micelnis ðin ofer heofenas, of muðe cilda and milc-deondra ðu ge-fremedes lof.

fore feondum binum, bet bu to-weorpe feond and gescildend.

for-ŏon ic ge-sie heofenas werc fingra ŏinra, monan and steorran ŏa ŏu ge-steaŏulades.

hwet is mon det ge-myndig du sie his, odde sunu monnes for-don du neosas hine?

ou ge-wonedes hine hwoene laessan from englum, mid wuldre and mid are ou ge-begades hine, and ge-settes hine ofer were honda oinra:

all ou under-deodes under fotum his, scep and oxan all ec oon and netenu feldes,

fuglas heofenes and fiscas saes, da geond-gad stige saes:

Dryht', dryht' ur, hu wundurlic is noma öin in alre eordan.

IV.

THE LINDISFARNE GOSPELS, A.D. 950.

PARABLE OF THE TEN VIRGINS .- St. Matthew XXV.

1. Donne gelic bið ric heofna tewm hehstaldun, ŏa onfengon leht-fato heora ge-eodun ongeæn ŏæm brydguma and čær bryde. 2. fifo uutetlice of čæm weron idlo and fifo hogofæste. 3. ah fifo idlo gefengon leht-fato ne genomun oele mið him. 4. hogofæste nutetlice onfengon cele in fetelsum hiora miò leht-fatum. 5. suigo uutetlice dyde ŏe brydgum geslepedon alle and geslepdon. 6. middum uutetlice næht lydeng geworden wæs: heonu brydguma cwom, gæs ongæn him. 7. 8a arioson alle hehstalde öa ilco, and gehrindon leht-fato hiora. 8. idlo nutetlice oam snotrum cuoedon: seles us of ole inerre, forčan leht-fato usræ gedrysned bičon. 9. geonduordon hogo cuoeŏendo: eaŏe mæg ne noh is us and iuh, gaas gewelgad to öæm bibycendum and bygeö iuh. 10. miððy uutetlice geeoden to bycganne, cuom de brydguma and da de . . . weron innfoerdon mid him to brydloppum and getyned was be dura. 11. hlætmesto cwomon and ða oðro hehstaldo cueðendo: drihten, drihten, untyn us. 12. soo he onduearde cueo: soblice ic cuoedo inh, nat ic inih. 13. wæccas fordon, forcon nunto gie cone dæge ne pone tid.

v.

THE RUSHWORTH GOSPELS, A.D. 1000.

St. Maithew, Chap. ii.

1. Þa soplice akenned wæs Hælend Iudeana in dagum Erodes þæs kyninges, henu tungul-kræftgu eastan quomon in Hierosolimam, 2. cwepende, hwær is sele akenned is kining Iudeana? we gesegon soplice steorra his in east-dæle and cuomon to gebiddenne to 3. þæt þa geherde, soþlice Herodes king wæs gedroefed in mode and ealle Hierosolima mid hine. 4. . . . ealle aldur-sacerdos, bokeras pæs folkes, ahsade heom hwær Krist wære akenned. 5. hiæ þa cwædon, in Bethlem Iudeana, swa soplice awriten purh witgu, cwæpende. 6. . . . nænigþinga læs-æst eart aldurmonnum Iuda, of be soblice gab lattenw sebe ræccet Israhæl. 7. Herodes dernunga acægde tungul-kræftgum and georne geliornade æt þa tid þæs æteawde him steorra. 8. sondende heom to Bethlem cwæp, gæp ahsiað georne bi pem cnæhte panne ge gemoetep hine sæcgað eft, þæt ic swilce cymende gebidde to him. 9. þa hie þa õæs kyninges word eodun þonan, henu þe steorra þe hiæ ær gesægon east-dæle fore-eade hiæ oppæt he cumende bufan öær se cneht 10. hie geseænde soplice steorran gefegon gefea miccle swipe. 11. ingangende pæt hus gemoetton pone eneht mid ... forpfallende gebedun to him . . . ontynden heora gold-hord brohtun lac recils murra. 12. andsuari onfengon slepe, hiæ ne cerdun . . . purh wege gewendun to heora londe.

VI.

(About A.D. 1090.)

THE FINDING OF ST. EDMUND'S HEAD.1

Hwæt ba, de flot-here ferde ba eft to scipe, and What then fleet-armament fared then again behyddon jæt heafod þæs halgan Eadmundes on þam the headholvhid biccum bremlum, pæt hit biburiged ne wurde. buried should not be. thick brambles æfter fyrste, syððan heo ifarene wæron, com þæt londa time after they goncfolc tó, pe pær to lafe pa wæs, pær heoræ lafordes lić their lord's corpse left buton heafde pa læg, and wurdon swide sarig for his rightwithout head laywereslægie on mode, and hure pæt heo næfdon pæt heafod to had not mindmoreover pa sæde de sceawere, pe hit ær iseah, pæt bam bodige. erst beholder pa flot-men hæfdon pæt heafod mid heom, and wæs him with them to him it ibuht, swa swa hit wæs ful soo, pæt heo hydden bæt seemed. heofod on pam holte. For-hwæga heo eoden pa endemes However went at last alle to pam wude, sæcende gehwær, geond þyfelas and everywhere through shrubs brymelas, gif heo mihten imeten pæt heafod. Wæs eac mycel wunder bæt an wulf wæs isend, burh Godes

¹ Thorpe's Analecta, p. 87. He thinks that this is East Anglian. Here we see the Anglian diphthong @ at the end of words, just as on the Ruthwell Cross, four hundred years earlier.

willunge, to biwærigenne pæt heafod, wið pa oðre deór, guurdagarnst ofer dæg and niht. Heo eoden da sæcende, and cleopigende, swa swa hit iwunelic is pæt da pe on wude customary those that gap oft: 'Hwær eart bu nu gerefa?' And him andgovernor swyrde pæt heafod: 'Her, her, her.' And swa ilome clypode andswarigende, offet heo alle bicomen, purh pa clypunge, him tó. Pa læg þe grægæ wulf þe bewiste pet heafod, ant mid his twam fotum hæfde pet heafod feet biclypped, gredig and hungrig, and for Gode ne dyrste clasped pæs hæfdes onburigen, ac heold hit wið deor. tastebutheldwurden hee ofwundreden has wulfes herdrædene, and guardianship becameamazed at pæt halige heafod hám feroden mid heom, pankende home carried pam Almihtigan alre his wundræ. Ac pe wulf fologede for all forð mid þam heafde, oððet heo on túne comen, swylce he tome wære, and wende æft syððan to wude ongean. Da lond-leodan þa syððan lægdan þæt heafod to þam land-folk

halige bodige, and burigdon, swa swa heo lihtlucost easiest mihten on swylce rædinge, and cyrce arærdon onuppon such haste a kirk reured him.

might

VII.

(A.D. 1220.)

Ancren Riwle (Camden Society), 388.1

A lefdi was bet was mid hire voan biset al abuten. and hire lond al destrued, and heo al poure, widinnen sheOn mihti kinges luve was pauh bione eorgene castle. an earthen however turnd upon hire, so unimete swude pet he vor wouhboundless verylecchunge sende hire his sonden, on efter over, and ofte messengers, one somed monie: and sende hire beaubelet bode veole and at once 1ewcls many feire, and sukurs of livened, and help of his heie hird to supplies victuals armyholden hire castel. Heo underveng al ase on unrecreceived carelessheleas ping pet was so herd ineorted pet hire luve ne hard-hearted mihte he never beon pe neorre. Hwat wult tu more? He com himsulf a last, and scheawede hire his feire neb, ase pe pet was of alle men veirest to biholden, and face spec swude sweteliche and so murie wordes bet heo spakepleasantthey muhten be deade arearen vrom deade to live. And

¹ This is the only passage, of all the specimens in this Chapter, that was not written in the Anglian country, or that did not feel the Anglian influence. French words begin to come in.

wrouhte veole wundres, and dude veole meistries bivo- $\frac{did}{did}$ great works

ren hire eihsihöe, and scheawede hire his mihten: tolde hire of his kinedome, and bead for to makien hire cwene offered

of al pet he ouhte. Al pis ne help nout. Nes pis owned helped nought. Was not this

wunderlich hoker? Vor heo nes never wurde vorte

beon his schelchine. Auh so, puruh his debonerté, luve

hefde overkumen hine þet he seide on ende, 'Dame, þu
had him at last

ert iweorred, and pine von beoð so stronge pet tu ne

meiht nonesweis, wiöuten sukurs af me, etfleon hore
in no way escape their

honden, pet heo ne don pe to scheomefule deas. Ich they

chulle vor pe luve of pe nimen pis fiht upon me, and shall take

aredden þe of ham þat schecheð þine deað. Ich wot them

pauh for soöe þet ich schal bitweonen ham undervongen must

deaces wunde, and ich hit wulle heorteliche vorto ofgon

pine heorte. Nu, peonne, biseche ich pe, vor pe luve pet

ich kuče pe, pet tu luvie me, hure and hure, efter pen

ilke dead deave, nwon pu noldes lives. Pes king dude same since wouldst not in my life

al pus, aredde hire of alle hire von, and was himsulf to wundre ituked, and isleien on ende. Puruh miracle injured slain

paul he aros from deabe to live. Nere peos ilke lefdi of Would not be;

vuele kunnes kunde, zif heo over alle þing ne luve him

her efter?

pes king is Jesu Crist, Godes sune, pet al o pisse wise wownde ure soule, pet pe deoflen heveden biset. And wooed our devils

he, ase noble woware, efter monie messagers, and feole

many

god deden com vorto preoven his luve, and scheawede

god deden, com vorto preoven his luve, and scheawede prove

puruh knihtschipe þet he was luve-wurðe, ase weren worthy

sumewhule knihtes iwuned for to donne. He dude him sometimes wont do ine turnement, and hefde vor his leofmonnes luve his

lady's schelde ine vihte, ase kene kniht, on everiche half side

i-purled. Pis scheld pet wreih his Godhed was his leove pierced covered dear

licome pet was ispred o rode, brode ase scheld buven in $\frac{body}{}$

his i-streiht earmes, and neruh bineoöen, ase pe on vot,

stretched
narrow
one foot

efter bet me weren sete upon be oder vote

efter pet me wened, sete upon pe oder vote. . . . Efter according to supposition

kene knihtes deaðe me hongeð heie ine chirche his

schelde on his munegunge. Al so is pis echeld, pet is, remembrance

pet crucifix iset ine chirche, ine swuche stude pet me hit

such place

sonest iseo, vorto penchen perbi o Jesu Cristes kniht-

schipe pet he dude o rode.

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LONDON: PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODR AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARD AND PARLIAMENT STREET